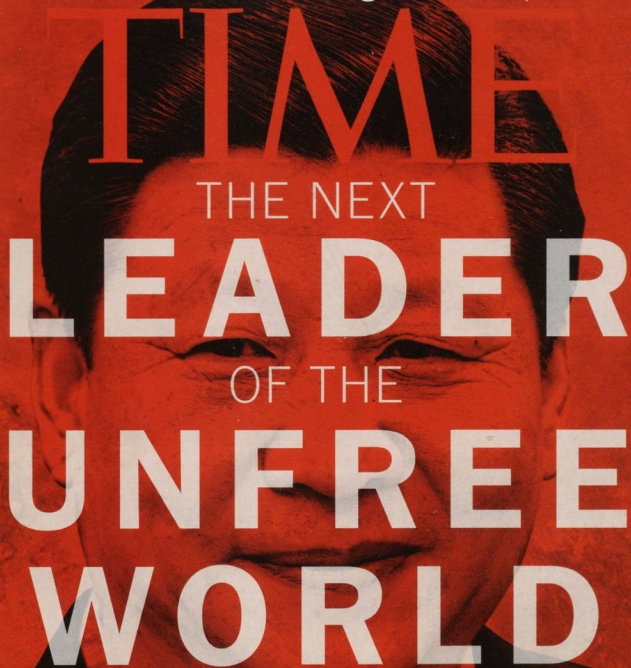


Romney's Surge By Mark Halperin
What Ails Obama By Joe Klein

/Aliens Among Us/Judd Apatow By Joel Stein



TIME

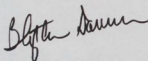
THE NEXT
LEADER
OF THE
UNFREE
WORLD


Why China's **Xi Jinping** will be the new President who really matters

BY HANNAH BEECH

"My doctor and I
chose Prolia®.
Ask your doctor
if Prolia® is right
for you."

Blythe Danner
Award winning actress
taking Prolia®



 **Prolia®** is a prescription medicine used to treat osteoporosis in women after menopause who:

- are at high risk for fracture, meaning women who have had a fracture related to osteoporosis, or who have multiple risk factors for fracture
- cannot use another osteoporosis medicine or other osteoporosis medicines did not work well

Important Safety Information

Do not take Prolia® if you have low blood calcium, are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, or are allergic to denosumab or any ingredients in Prolia®.

What is the most important information I should know about Prolia®?

If you receive Prolia®, you should not receive XGEVA®, Prolia® contains the same medicine as XGEVA® (denosumab).

Prolia® can cause serious side effects:

Low calcium levels in your blood (hypocalcemia).

Prolia® may lower the calcium levels in your blood. If you have low blood calcium, it may get worse during treatment. Your low blood calcium must be treated before you receive Prolia®.

Your doctor may prescribe calcium and vitamin D to help prevent low calcium levels in your blood. Take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to.

Serious infections. Serious infections in your skin, lower stomach area (abdomen), bladder, or ear may happen. Inflammation of the inner lining of the heart (endocarditis) due to an infection may also happen more often in people who take Prolia®. You may need to go to the hospital for treatment.

Prolia® is a medicine that may affect your immune system. People who have weakened immune systems or take medicines that affect the immune system may have an increased risk for developing serious infections.

Skin problems. Skin problems such as inflammation of your skin (dermatitis), rash, and eczema have been reported.

Severe jaw bone problems (osteonecrosis). Severe jaw bone problems may occur. Your doctor should examine your mouth before you start Prolia® and may tell you to see your dentist. It is important for you to practice good mouth care during treatment with Prolia®.

For women with postmenopausal osteoporosis
at high risk for fracture: there's **Prolia®**.

Prolia® 2 shots a year proven to help strengthen bones.

Prolia® is different. It's a shot given 2 times a year
in your doctor's office.

Prolia® is proven to:

- Significantly reduce fractures of the spine, hip, and other bones
- Help increase bone density

Is Prolia® right for you? Ask your doctor today.

By Prescription Only.

Unusual thigh bone fractures. Unusual thigh bone fractures have been reported.

Before taking Prolia®, tell your doctor if you:

- Are taking a medicine called XGEVA® (denosumab). XGEVA® contains the same medicine as Prolia®.
- Have low blood calcium.
- Cannot take daily calcium and vitamin D.
- Had parathyroid or thyroid surgery (glands located in your neck).
- Have been told you have trouble absorbing minerals in your stomach or intestines (malabsorption syndrome).
- Have kidney problems or are on kidney dialysis.
- Plan to have dental surgery or teeth removed.
- Are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- Are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed.

What are the possible side effects of Prolia®?

It is not known if the use of Prolia® over a long period of time may cause slow healing of broken bones or unusual fractures. The most common side effects of Prolia® are back pain, pain in your

arms and legs, high cholesterol, muscle pain, and bladder infection.

These are not all the possible side effects of Prolia®.

For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Brief Summary of Medication Guide on the next page.

Ask your doctor about your bone strength and if Prolia® is right for you.



2 shots a year proven to help strengthen bones.
www.prolia.com



BRIEF SUMMARY OF MEDICATION GUIDE

Prolia® (PRÓ-lee-a) (denosumab) Injection

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Prolia before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. The Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment. Talk to your doctor if you have any questions about Prolia.

What is the most important information I should know about Prolia?

If you receive Prolia, you should not receive XGEVA®. Prolia contains the same medicine as Xgeva (denosumab).

Prolia can cause serious side effects including:

1. Low calcium levels in your blood (hypocalcemia).

Prolia may lower the calcium levels in your blood. If you have low blood calcium before you start receiving Prolia, it may get worse during treatment. Your low blood calcium must be treated before you receive Prolia. Most people with low blood calcium levels do not have symptoms, but some people may have symptoms. Call your doctor right away if you have symptoms of low blood calcium such as:

- Spasms, twitches, or cramps in your muscles
 - Numbness or tingling in your fingers, toes, or around your mouth
- Your doctor may prescribe calcium and vitamin D to help prevent low calcium levels in your blood while you take Prolia. Take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to.

2. Serious infections.

Serious infections in your skin, lower stomach area (abdomen), bladder, or ear may happen if you take Prolia. Inflammation of the inner lining of the heart (endocarditis) from an infection also may happen more often in people who take Prolia. You may need to go to the hospital for treatment if you develop an infection.

Prolia is a medicine that may affect your immune system. People who have weakened immune system or take medicines that affect the immune system may have an increased risk for developing serious infections.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the following symptoms of infection:

- Fever or chills
- Skin that looks red or swollen and is hot or tender to touch
- Severe abdominal pain
- Frequent or urgent need to urinate or burning feeling when you urinate

3. Skin problems.

Skin problems such as inflammation of your skin (dermatitis), rash, and eczema may happen if you take Prolia. Call your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms of skin problems that do not go away or get worse:

- Redness
- Itching
- Small bumps or patches (rash)
- Your skin is dry or feels like leather
- Blisters that ooze or become crusty
- Skin peeling

4. Severe jaw bone problems (osteonecrosis).

Severe jaw bone problems may happen when you take Prolia. Your doctor should examine your mouth before you start Prolia. Your doctor may tell you to see your dentist before you start Prolia. It is important for you to practice good mouth care during treatment with Prolia.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of these side effects.

What is Prolia?

Prolia is a prescription medicine used to:

- Treat osteoporosis (thinning and weakening of bone) in women after menopause ("change of life") who:
 - are at high risk for fracture (broken bone).
- cannot use another osteoporosis medicine or other osteoporosis medicines did not work well.

It is not known if Prolia is safe and effective in children.

Who should not take Prolia?

Do not take Prolia if you:

- have been told by your doctor that your blood calcium level is too low.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are allergic to denosumab or any of the ingredients in Prolia. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in Prolia.

What should I tell my doctor before taking Prolia?

Before taking Prolia, tell your doctor if you:

- Are taking a medicine called Xgeva (denosumab). Xgeva contains the same medicine as Prolia.
- Have low blood calcium.
- Cannot take daily calcium and vitamin D.

- Had parathyroid or thyroid surgery (glands located in your neck).
- Have been told you have trouble absorbing minerals in your stomach or intestines (malabsorption syndrome).
- Have kidney problems or are on kidney dialysis.
- Plan to have dental surgery or teeth removed.
- Are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Prolia may harm your unborn baby. Tell your doctor right away if you become pregnant while taking Prolia.

Pregnancy Surveillance Program: Prolia is not intended for use in pregnant women. If you become pregnant while taking Prolia, talk to your doctor about enrolling in Amgen's Pregnancy Surveillance Program or call 1-800-772-6436 (1-800-77-AMGEN). The purpose of this program is to collect information about women who have become pregnant while taking Prolia.

- Are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if Prolia passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take Prolia or breastfeed. You should not do both.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and nonprescription drugs, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of medicines with you to show to your doctor or pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How will I receive Prolia?

- Prolia is an injection that will be given to you by a healthcare professional. Prolia is injected under your skin (subcutaneous).
- You will receive Prolia 1 time every 6 months.
- You should take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to while you receive Prolia.
- If you miss a dose of Prolia, you should receive your injection as soon as you can.
- Take good care of your teeth and gums while you receive Prolia. Brush and floss your teeth regularly.
- Tell your dentist that you are receiving Prolia before you have dental work.

What are the possible side effects of Prolia?

Prolia may cause serious side effects.

- See "What is the most important information I should know about Prolia?"
- **Long-term effects on bone:** It is not known if the use of Prolia over a long period of time may cause slow healing of broken bones or unusual fractures.

The most common side effects of Prolia in women who are being treated for osteoporosis after menopause are:

- back pain
- pain in your arms and legs
- high cholesterol
- muscle pain
- bladder infection

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects of Prolia. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store Prolia if I need to pick it up from a pharmacy?

- Keep Prolia in a refrigerator at 36°F to 46°F (2°C to 8°C) in the original carton.
- Do not freeze Prolia.
- When you remove Prolia from the refrigerator, Prolia must be kept at room temperature (up to 77°F (25°C)) in the original carton and must be used within 14 days.
- Do not keep Prolia at temperatures above 77°F (25°C). Warm temperatures will affect how Prolia works.
- Do not shake Prolia.
- Keep Prolia in the original carton to protect from light.

Keep Prolia and all medicines out of reach of children.

General information about Prolia

Do not give Prolia to other people even if they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them.

The Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Prolia. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Prolia that is written for health professionals.

For more information, go to www.Prolia.com or call Amgen at 1-800-772-6436.

What are the ingredients in Prolia?

Active ingredient: denosumab

Inactive ingredients: sorbitol, acetate, polysorbate 20 (prefilled syringe only), Water for injection (USP), and sodium hydroxide

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AMGEN

BOND IS BACK

ON THE RUN WITH
007, FROM *DR. NO*
TO *SKYFALL*

LIFE has been covering Bond since the swinging '60s, when he became a cultural icon. This commemorative edition has everything a Bond fan could want packed into one book—and then shaken, not stirred.

LIFE



50 YEARS OF JAMES BOND

Available wherever books are sold or go to
life.com/books/bond to order your copy today



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TIME Photo-Illustration.
Photograph by
Chip Somodevilla—
Getty Images



Ryan compares his wife Janna's height with childhood measurements marked at her grandmother's home in Clinton, Iowa. Photograph by Peter Bohler for TIME

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Leslie Mann and Judd Apatow, page 52

RE-REDEFINING THE MIDSIZE SEDAN.

— "Highest Ranked Vehicle Appeal Among Midsize Cars in a Tie" —

by J.D. Power and Associates*

The Optima redefined an entire category, and now the Optima Limited is elevating the bar even further. It comes equipped with luxurious features like 18" chrome wheels, a 274-horsepower GDI Turbo engine, front and rear red brake calipers, premium Nappa leather-trimmed seats, LED accent lights and an electronic parking brake. Plus, J.D. Power and Associates[†] ranked the Optima the most appealing midsize car. The new Optima Limited — it's the midsize sedan that will make you rethink the midsize sedan. Go to kia.com to learn more.



OPTIMA
GDI • TURBO • LIMITED • HYBRID



*The Kia Optima received the highest numerical score among midsize cars in a tie in the proprietary J.D. Power and Associates 2012 Automotive Performance, Execution and Layout Study.† Study based on responses from 74,759 new-vehicle owners, measuring 233 models and measures opinions after 90 days of ownership. Proprietary study results are based on experiences and perceptions of owners surveyed in February-May 2012. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com/kia. Optima Hybrid quantities are limited and available only at hybrid-authorized Kia dealers. Check with your local Kia dealer. Optima SX Limited shown.



MAIL



Political Truths

For years I have been puzzled as to why voters cast their ballots for candidates who purposely mislead the public ["Blue Truth, Red Truth," Oct. 15]. Your article made

clear that reasoning with voters using facts will do no good in attempting to question false information. For the past five presidential elections, I have refused to vote for a candidate who uses unethical tactics. This will be the sixth election in which I will cast my vote for an independent.

James L. Britt, CORDOVA, TENN.

Your too easy analysis—that all politicians lie—is troubling. Judging from his governorship through the recent debate, I place Mitt Romney in a qualitatively different category from President Obama. He is a shape shifter. His breathtaking departures from the truth and repeated shifts from one position to another catapult him into the world of science fiction.

Nancy Martland, SUGAR HILL, N.H.

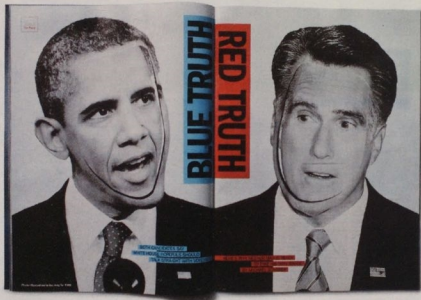
Your cover left off a box to check. There should have been one marked "Neither."

Walt McCarthy, LONG LAKE, MINN.

Corporal Punishment

Re "Spanking in the Schools" [Oct. 15]: Fear of abuse takes up a great deal of psychic energy, energy that would be better used for learning. Kids need boundaries and consequences. They need to learn how to treat others with dignity and respect. Our job as teachers and educators is to model the behavior we want our students to internalize. If we model abuse, we should not be surprised when children learn that lesson.

Kevin Barr, Assistant Head of School, Georgetown Day School, WASHINGTON



THE CONVERSATION

'It's all b.s.'

That's how Fox's **Bill O'Reilly**, in his recent televised "debate" with Comedy Central's **Jon Stewart**, summed up what both presidential candidates have been saying on the campaign trail. O'Reilly commended TIME's Oct. 15 cover story, "**Blue Truth, Red Truth**," for parsing many of the distortions and outright lies. But lots of readers were bothered by TIME's suggestion that **Mitt Romney's** prevarications, deemed by many to be extreme, were of the same magnitude as **President Obama's**. As the Twitterverse discussed our findings using "#FactWars"—a hashtag pegged to our cover line—@stevekimura responded with a different epithet: "#FalseEquivalency."

Art in Space

Multimedia artist Michael Benson, whose work appears on page 44 (and is collected in a new book, *Planetfall*), brings vivid color to otherworldly landscapes by digitally restoring and reprocessing raw image data transmitted to Earth by NASA probes. To see a sampling of his work as well as a video of how he approximates the colors that would be seen in interstellar bodies if viewed by the naked eye, go to time.com/benson.



WRITE TO US

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FOR THE RECORD

► Joel Stein's profile of Ben Affleck ["Mr. Serious," Oct. 15] referred to Affleck as behaving "drunkenly" during a 2004 video interview, a description based on viewing the video. Affleck's representative maintains that he was not intoxicated during the interview.



Korean Air's A380 provides you with

1.3 times the space

Duty Free



Showcase offers onboard shopping for luxury items,



While cocktails are served in spacious lounges and

bars



Prestige Sleeper Seats comprise the entire upper deck,

94




comfort

providing greater



There's more to our A380 than meets the eye

Korean Air's A380 has the fewest seats to give you 1.3 times the normal space for a more comfortable flight experience. While onboard, unwind at our Duty Free Showcase, lounges and bars, or simply relax in entire upper deck devoted to just 94 Prestige Sleeper Seats. Less crowding also means a lighter plane and cleaner skies through which to fly in comfort and luxury.

A close-up portrait of actress Laura Linney with long, wavy blonde hair and blue eyes, smiling gently at the camera.

Laura Linney
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador

WEAR YOUR BEAUTY BRILLIANTLY

**Love your skin.
Protect it.
Be kind to it.
Save it.**

If truth is beauty, then the facts speak for themselves. It takes only 15 minutes for the sun's UV rays to damage your skin. So protect your skin every chance you get. Wear sunscreen whenever you're outdoors, even on cloudy days. Find shade. Wear a hat to protect your face and head. Watch for changes in your skin. Every eight minutes someone is diagnosed with melanoma. Caught early, the five-year survival rate for melanoma is 92%. Healthy living begins with healthy skin.

Protect the one thing that protects you. **And be brilliant.**

Melanoma
Research Alliance

TO LEARN MORE, VISIT CUREMELANOMA.ORG/PROTECTYOURSKIN
OR STANDUPTOCANCER.ORG/PROTECTYOURSKIN



Briefing

'Hope is not a strategy.'

1. **MITT ROMNEY**, accusing President Obama of "passive leadership" in the Middle East during a foreign policy address at Virginia Military Institute

'This is an attack to silence courage through a bullet. These are the forces who want to take us to the Dark Ages.'

2. **KAMILA HAYAT**, senior official from the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, after the Taliban shot and wounded a 14-year-old girl who advocated female education and publicized Taliban atrocities

'I feel like I got a lot smarter overnight.'

3. **DAVID WINELAND**, an American who shared the Nobel Prize in Physics with Serge Haroche of France for inventing methods to observe properties of the quantum universe

'The crime is not only what you did to their bodies but to their psyches and their souls.'

4. **JOHN CLELAND**, the judge who sentenced former Penn State assistant football coach Jerry Sandusky (below) to 30 to 60 years in prison; Sandusky was convicted of 45 counts of child sexual abuse

'This has been the perfect battle.'

5. **HUGO CHÁVEZ**, who won a fourth term as President of Venezuela by 10 percentage points, down from 25 points in his previous re-election in 2006



1,153

Gallons of gasoline (4,365 L) that thieves managed to steal from a California service station over a three-day period

12

People killed in the U.S. so far from a recent outbreak of fungal meningitis linked to contaminated steroid shots

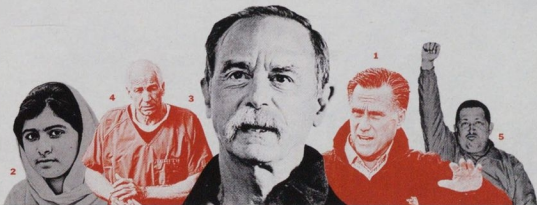


40

Steak 'n Shake restaurants that will open in the United Arab Emirates next year in the restaurant chain's first expansion outside the U.S.

1 in 5

Americans who identify as "unaffiliated" in their religious denomination, according to a new Pew study; up 5 percentage points in the past five years



Briefing

LightBox





El Comandante

A campaign poster of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, who was re-elected Oct. 7, dwarfs that of his main rival, Henrique Capriles, in an apartment block in Caracas

**Photograph by
Jorge Silva—Reuters
lightbox.time.com**

World



Chávez showed he was still able to mobilize supporters in Venezuela

Chávez Wins, but His Power Is Slipping

1 | VENEZUELA Although socialist President Hugo Chávez routed his centrist challenger, Henrique Capriles Radonski, 55% to 45% in the Oct. 7 presidential election in Venezuela, the opposition can take some consolation from the fact that Capriles did a lot of things right. That includes reaching out in a more credible way to poor Venezuelans, who make up Chávez's base. The problem is that it wasn't nearly enough to make up for all the things the opposition has done wrong in the almost 14 years Chávez and his populist, anti-U.S. revolution have controlled Venezuela, which has the world's largest oil reserves.

Venezuelans had more reasons than ever to vote against Chávez in this election. Rampant violent crime has saddled the country with South America's highest murder rate, economic mismanagement has produced one of the world's highest inflation rates, and official corruption has begun to remind Venezuelans of the elitist sleaze that Chávez once condemned as he rode to power. That a majority didn't reject him says less about the advantages Chávez has derived from his heavy-handed rule than it does about his opposition's nagging failure to offer a convincing alternative.

The Venezuelan opposition has long suffered from lame political skills. That's largely because, during the ultracorrupt decades before Chávez, Venezuelan politicians were far more

focused on honing their embezzlement skills—a big reason more than half the population lived in poverty despite the nation's prodigious oil wealth. When Chávez pulled the rug out from under their venal feet in 1998 with his first presidential victory, they possessed few if any of the engage-the-electorate tools they needed to challenge him. Even worse was their blithering denial: fuming over their imported scotch on Caracas' affluent east side, they were utterly incapable of seeing that their profligate abuses were more responsible for Chávez's stunning rise to power—and the broad popularity of his poverty-reduction project—than his red-bet demagoguery was.

Capriles, governor of the state of Miranda, represents a new generation of opposition leaders who understand why Chávez—who got presidential term limits eliminated in 2009—remains Venezuela's most popular politician. Capriles at least made 2012 a much closer race—his strong campaign also helped bring out 80% of voters—and if Chávez's "21st century socialism" keeps undermining the country's economy and security, the next election, in 2018, may well prove even tighter if not a defeat for Chávez.

—TIM PADGETT

A Prelude to Invasion?

2 | SYRIA Five civilians were killed when a Syrian shell struck Akcakale, a Turkish border town harboring 6,000 Syrian refugees, on Oct. 3. Despite a Syrian apology and antiwar protests in Turkey, the incident triggered a week of sustained shelling by both sides. The Turkish government has grown increasingly hostile to the embattled regime of Syria's Bashar Assad. Meanwhile, the U.S. deployed troops to Jordan to ward off a spillover of Syria's civil war; some 200,000 Syrian refugees have fled to Jordan in the past year.

RUSSIA

'It's the chemistry, the feeling inside that I'm doing the right thing.'

PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN, speaking to NTV about his rule on his 60th birthday. Putin has been ignoring antigovernment protests





That's Meant for Merkel

3 | GREECE Riot police withstand a spattering of paint during protests in Athens on Oct. 9. The Greek capital was under lockdown in anticipation of a visit by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, a champion of tough austerity measures that many Greeks say have devastated their debt-ridden nation. Merkel insisted in Athens that she had faith that the euro-zone countries could work their way out of the crisis; 40,000 Athenians in the streets disagreed.

Courageous Heart

4 | PAKISTAN The Taliban claimed responsibility for shooting a 14-year-old girl, along with two of her friends, on her way home from school on Oct. 9 in the Swat Valley. It was no accident: the intended victim was Malala Yousafzai, a young activist who had charmed the world with diary dispatches published by the BBC Urdu service when she was 11. She described life under the oppressive shadow of the Taliban and her simple desire to go to school. Yousafzai survived the shooting.



GEORGIA

A classy defender who has won titles across Europe, Kaladze says his new post "is the most important match of my life"



BRAZIL

A diminutive striker who scored a thousand goals, Romário da Souza Faria, 46, joined the Socialist Party and is one of Brazil's more outspoken Congressmen



UKRAINE

After hanging up his boots this year, Andriy Shevchenko, 35, Ukraine's great captain and top goal scorer, joined a splinter faction of the country's opposition



LIBERIA

Former FIFA World Player of the Year George Weah, 46, lost the hard-fought 2005 presidential election to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, now a Nobel laureate



Electoral Goals

5 | GEORGIA After winning the Oct. 1 parliamentary elections, Georgia's opposition coalition, led by Bidzina Ivanishvili, is set to form a new government—while still sharing power with President Mikheil Saakashvili, whose party was defeated. Ivanishvili is bringing in charisma: Kakha Kaladze, 34, Georgia's most famous soccer star, may be Ivanishvili's Deputy Prime Minister. He's not the only soccer icon to enter politics.



U.S.

5

Minutes an American has to work to afford a beer, according to a new study of median wages and average beer prices across 150 countries. The average for most nations is 20 minutes

Nation

State of the Race. One Obama-Romney debate down, two more to go. This just got interesting

By Mark Halperin

With less than a month before Election Day, the presidential contest is now a horse race. Here are the big questions, and answers, about what happened and what happens next:

1 What went down in Denver?

Distracted by his Oval Office duties, Obama scaled back a number of debate-prep sessions. Then, assuming that the Mitt Romney showing up onstage would be easy pickings, the President bumbled into one of the great failures in recent campaign history. And as fate would have it, Romney turned in one of the stronger performances in memory, showing a measured tone and a cool confidence he has rarely displayed in five years on the campaign trail.

2 What impact did the first debate have?

With a huge audience of 67 million, it gave Romney's campaign the momentum and assurance it had lacked all year. Republicans were on the verge of giving up their horse for dead; now Romney is enjoying a remarkable renaissance: more contributions, more conservative-activist enthusiasm, bigger crowds, better media coverage, all building on one another in a virtuous cycle. Many Democrats remain freaked out and stunned by the President's failure, exacerbated by the reality that if he had outgunned his rival in Denver, the race might be over.

3 But has the relative standing of the two candidates changed?

Romney is reveling in the kind of polling bounce Obama saw after his convention in Charlotte. The Republican has not only improved his position in the horse race; surveys show voters view him more favorably than before overall and on characteristics like leadership. He seems more comfortable sharing endearing and inspiring personal stories in his revamped stump speech. Team Obama claims that national polls are exaggerating the debate's impact on the contest and that there haven't been significant changes in the battleground states.

4 Are Obama's advisers right about that?

Although some new polls may tempt Romney into taking another look at competing in Michigan and Pennsylvania, in the end the race will almost certainly come down to the same nine states that have defined the contest for months: Florida, North Carolina and Virginia in the Southeast; New Hampshire in the Northeast; Ohio, Iowa and Wisconsin in the Midwest; and Nevada and Colorado in the West. Obama's biggest advantage remains his standing in these states, all of which he won in 2008, but his margins have narrowed.

5 What advantages do the Democrats have beyond the Electoral College?

Several. The White House has largely won the voter-registration wars in the battleground states, and recent court decisions on voting hours and ballot access in such states as Ohio and Pennsylvania have gone Obama's way. Romney, meanwhile, has yet to crack the identity-politics code that would help him eat into Obama's overwhelming support among women, Hispanics, African Americans and younger voters. And after raising a best-in-cycle \$181 million in September, Democrats no longer expect to be significantly outspent in the Big Nine states (something they worried about for most of the year).

6 What does the President need to do now to get back in command of the race?

In the next debate, on Oct. 16, he must more convincingly defend his first term and explain to voters why he deserves a second one. Obama's aides rightly say they still have more routes to an Electoral College victory than their rival. But they expect a tight race and a close finish. As one put it, "We're going to do what we have to do to get to 270."

7 What does Romney do now?

He already sounds like a new man on the stump: relaxed, colloquial, appealing. His campaign is mulling other big policy speeches to follow his Oct. 8 address on foreign policy; if he can bring his Denver game to a high-profile talk on the economy, he could close very strong. But he had better be ready for the next debate, in which a different Barack Obama will almost certainly appear. Romney proved in their first meeting that he knows how to throw a punch. In their second, on Long Island, New York, he'll need to show he can parry and counterpunch—skills voters expect in their Presidents as well.

Tech

Unfriending The Enemy Politics overload drives Facebook users to cut ties

By Katy Steinmetz

Chris Adamson is a let-live libertarian, but he didn't mind that most of his Facebook friends are überliberal—until this election season. That's when the Grand Rapids, Mich., computer programmer noticed a stream of less-than-subtle posts invading his News Feed. The breaking point came when one of his buddies pledged to post every single day in an effort to understand "why his friends could possibly vote for" Mitt Romney. "Given the nature of my friend group, I'm getting this very one-sided argument that I don't even want to participate in anymore," Adamson says.

Politics, classic etiquette tells us, is a subject best avoided when friends come to dinner. It may be time to amend that advice to include Facebook. The Pew Research Center found that nearly 1 in 5 social networkers has blocked, hidden or unfriended someone over political material that was too frequent or too disagreeable.

Though social networking played a big role in the 2008 race, spurring fundraising and helping candidates get out their message, it was still the province of earlyish adopters. Since then Facebook has grown tenfold; it just hit 1 billion monthly users worldwide. Today's bigger friend groups are also more diverse, which makes it easier to offend.

Some Facebookers have decided just to sever the online ties. Jake Sherlock, a communications coordinator in Colorado Springs, says he unfriended one of his long-distance in-laws over political chum. "The final straw for me was a post about how Obamacare requires all Americans to get chips installed in their skin," he writes. A less drastic alternative is blocking a person's



Estimates say there are about three negative Facebook posts about Romney and Obama for every positive mention

updates from your News Feed so you don't see their posts unless you go looking for them. Leslie Hassel, a graduate student at the University of Mississippi, says that "in an effort to salvage my relationship with my mother," she has unsubscribed from posts by the "rabid Republican" who raised her.

Political oversharing is facilitated by what psychologists call the Internet's disinhibition effect. John Suler, a psychology professor at Rider University in New Jersey, observes in an article for *CyberPsychology & Behavior* that people feel emboldened by the lack of real-time response and the sense that the things they do online are less serious than actions in the real world. We get on the Web, and "out spills rude language and harsh criticisms, anger, hatred, even threats," Suler writes.

Etiquette gurus provide some guidelines for dealing with politics on Facebook. "Sharing what you like is generally better than sharing what you don't," says Anna Post, a scion of etiquette legend Emily Post. Also, now that many people can count everyone from close friends to crazy uncles to far-flung professional contacts among their Facebook friends, it's important to keep the whole audience in mind, says consultant Jacqueline Whitmore. The original rule about politics and conversation, after all, was about having consideration for others' feelings.

For his part, Adamson is fighting back in iambic pentameter. Every time one of his friends posts something political, he posts one line, in order, from Shakespeare's Measure for Measure. "We'll see if we get through the whole play by November 6th," he announced on his wall in late September. At this point, he's at least reached his favorite line, from Act II, Scene 1: "Some rise by sin," the Bard wrote 400 years ago, "and some by virtue fall."

Economy

Sit Tight. The latest way to squeeze more people into planes

By Bill Saporito

WITH AIRLINES RUNNING AT MORE THAN 80% OF CAPACITY, families have found it increasingly difficult to get seated together on flights. But one industry trend could help: more seats per plane. Airlines have been retrofitting their cabins with lighter, thinner slim-line seats that take up less space, creating room for more seats. The slim-line seats in new B-777s for instance, allow 10 across in the way back. Trendsetting long-haul carriers like Qatar Airlines are going nine across in the new 787 Dreamliner, according to *Business Traveller*. That's one more than was originally configured, meaning dozens of additional seats. Air France was recently asking about \$1,000 for round-trip tickets from New York City to Paris; 20 extra seats a day would produce more than \$7 million annually at that price.

The trend is spreading to smaller aircraft. Take Allegiant, a discount carrier that flies from small, cold cities to big, warm ones—Scranton, Pa., to Orlando, for instance. Allegiant's MD-80s are old, but the seats are new: Allegiant chucked the aircraft galleys and added ultra-slim-line seats that allow the carrier to get 166 passengers on a jet that previously fit 150. The retrofitted jet is 1,000 lb. lighter, offset by the 2,500 lb. to 3,000 lb. the extra passengers bring. Allegiant treats space as gold and passengers as logistical inputs. And well it should, since the company's business model is driven by price-sensitive impulse travelers. It tries to run its jets 90% full to make its profit target. "It's your dreams and our money," says CEO Maurice Gallagher.

At Southwest, the company is retrofitting all its Boeing 737-700s with slim-line seats from B/E Aerospace, a leading seat manufacturer, in a program the airline calls Evolve. Adding one row of seats adds up. Southwest says it can generate about \$200 million annually in fare revenue from the additional seats.

According to B/E Aerospace, using carbon fiber in place of metal can take about 10 lb. out of a coach seat and allow more contouring for comfort. Not only is the resulting seat and seat back thinner, but less padding is required because the frame isn't as hard. "The other thing that resonates with people when you start to slim down: you can increase the living space. The passenger has a perceptible difference," says Tom Plant, vice president and general manager of seating products for B/E Aerospace. Part of that perception comes from the fact that you are sitting farther back in the chair, and some airlines have changed the seat height slightly. "We feel that these seats are ergonomic and more comfortable," says Southwest spokesman Paul Flanagan. But in Southwest's typically candid style he points out, "It's basically a wash from a legroom standpoint." Customers may not care, given that the added seats across the industry mean that you have a greater chance of sitting with loved ones. As a family, you'll be closer. In some cases, much closer.



143

Number of seats on Southwest's 737-700s, up from 137

The use of more carbon fiber and less metal is changing the shape of airline seats

Older seats need cushions

Newer ones take up less space



3 inches

Average loss in pitch* between economy-class seats since 1978

20 pounds

SAVED BY THE LIGHTEST SEAT

Slim-line seats generate more revenue for discount carriers like Spirit



166

Number of seats on the Allegiant MD-80, up from 150

178

Number of seats on Spirit's A320, with a 28-in. pitch and "pre-reclined" seats



Number of seats on JetBlue's A320, using a standard 34-in. pitch

150

*The distance from a given point on one seat to the same point on the seat in front or behind

Sources: APEX, TIMCO, JetBlue, Spirit, Allegiant



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TO WIN THEM OVER

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Business

All Hail the New Taxi Apps A smarter way to connect drivers and riders

By Sam Gustin

TRANSPORTATION ON THE FLY IS CENTRAL TO CITY LIFE. Urban dwellers are always on the move—and taxis, buses and subway trains can't come fast enough. So a number of start-ups are leveraging smart-phone technology to inject more efficiency and speed into the process of getting around town when you don't own a car.

At the head of the pack is San Francisco-based Uber, which allows users to order so-called black cars—high-end sedans, limousines and SUVs—from their smart phones. The app for Apple's iPhone and Google's Android devices displays the wait time and shows the car's progress on a GPS-enabled map.

"We want to be everyone's private driver," says Ilya Abyzov, Uber's San

Francisco general manager. "You push a button and you get a ride. We're reaching an inflection point where that's feasible thanks to smart phones and GPS." Uber faces competition from Hailo, a U.K. start-up that is staking out European cities and has North America in its sights. For connecting drivers and riders, these two companies charge a 10% to 20% premium on top of typical rates.

A third player, San Francisco-based Lyft, on the other hand, is an outgrowth of Zimride, a ride-sharing program that's popular at college campuses. It puts nonprofessional drivers in touch with passengers, and any exchange of money is voluntary.

Abyzov says Uber has developed algorithms that create a predictive heat map to help drivers anticipate rider demand. "We're helping our partners build successful small businesses," says Abyzov, a 29-year-old Dartmouth computer-science grad who received his M.B.A. from Stanford this year. One of the company's admirers is Netscape co-founder and venture capitalist Marc Andreessen, who is not an Uber investor but has described its service as "software eats taxis."

That's exactly why some traditional taxi drivers are unhappy. Uber's black-car service has passed New York City regulatory muster. But an effort to bring yellow taxis into the Uber fold has run into local resistance in the city, its biggest potential market. New Yorkers are often frustrated by the problem of hailing cabs at odd hours or in distant parts of the five boroughs. The Uber app would let them simply order one. But New York's cabs are authorized for street hails only. Never wanting to be behind the times, the city's taxi and limousine commission says it plans "to quickly begin a rulemaking process that will permit broader use of these new apps" sometime next year.



THE PLAYERS

Three key start-ups and what they offer



UBER

LAUNCHED
2010

BASED
San Francisco

CITIES
San Francisco,
New York,
Los Angeles,
Toronto, Paris
London and
more

SERVICE
Smart-phone
app for hailing
black cars
(limos)



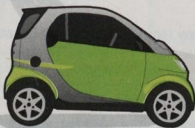
HAILO

LAUNCHED
2011

BASED
London

CITIES London,
Dublin, Toronto,
Soon in New
York, Chicago,
Boston

SERVICE
Smart-phone
app for hailing
black cars (limos)



LYFT (Zimride)

LAUNCHED
2012

BASED
San Francisco

CITIES
San Francisco
SERVICE Lyft
connects car
owners with
people seeking
transportation.

It's an offshoot
of Zimride, a
nationwide
ride-sharing,
carpooling
service

for iPad®
a leader



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Business

All Hail the New Taxi A smarter way to connect drivers and riders

By Sam Gustin

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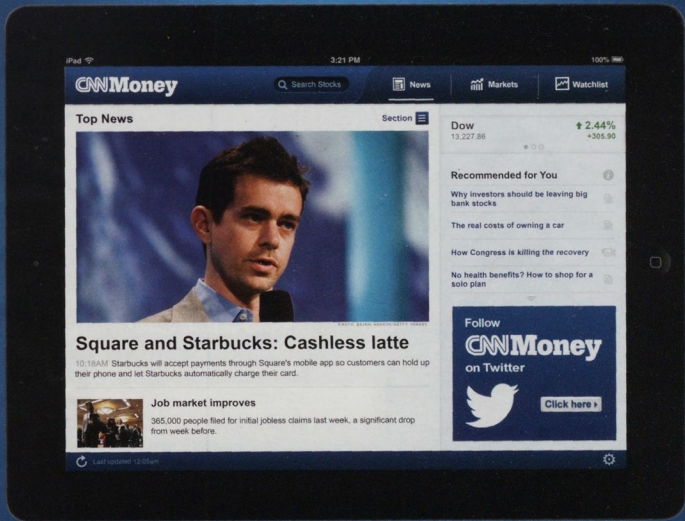
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3 min.

Average wait time
in San Francisco
for Uber car
service

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Health&Science

Don't Trash These Genes. "Junk" DNA may lead to valuable cures

By Alice Park

JUNK. BARREN. NONFUNCTIONING. DARK matter. That's how scientists have described the vast majority of the human genome since it was first sequenced in 2000. The disappointment in those words involved more than just science. It was also about ego. Given our evolutionary sophistication, our genomes—the genetic blueprint that makes us the talking, empire-building, socially complex species we are—would certainly be stuffed with important and elegant genes, coding for critical proteins of unparalleled complexity. But when all was said and done, the 3 billion base pairs that line up to make our DNA coalesced into a paltry 22,000 genes. That's just 2% of the human genome. The rest, geneticists said with unconcealed embarrassment, didn't seem to do much.

Fortunately for our genetic pride, it turns out they were wrong. Most of that 98% of the genome is actually a buzzing universe of biochemical activity that is far from a molecular moonscape, according to the latest massive genome-sequencing effort led by the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH). And normally cautious scientists are shedding their reservations when they contemplate the opportunities emerging from the Encyclopedia of DNA Elements (ENCODE) project, possibilities that include finding cures for some of our most intractable diseases. "This is a powerful resource for exploring the fundamental question of how life is encoded," Dr. Eric Green, director of the NIH's National Human Genome Research Institute, told reporters when he announced the discovery. "It will help us understand the genomic basis of human disease."

That, of course, is the ultimate goal of gene-based research. If the Human Genome Project established the letters of the human code, ENCODE is providing the narrative of the genetic novel by fashioning those linear strings of DNA into



22

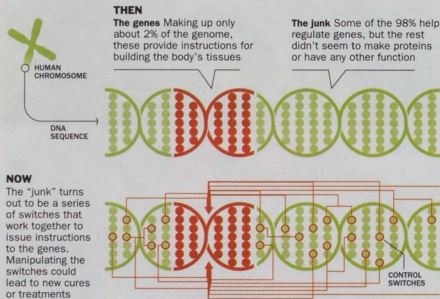
THOUSAND
Number of
genes in the
human genome

4

MILLION
Number of
switches in the
"dark matter"
controlling
those genes

442 scientists in
32 labs sequenced
what was thought
to be junk DNA

Junk No More. The vast majority of the human genome that scientists had written off is actually alive with activity



meaningful molecular words. And in those words could be found cures.

Members of the ENCODE consortium, which includes 442 scientists in 32 labs around the world, say about 80% of the nongene portion of the human genome is a highly active live wire made up of 4 million constantly communicating switches of cross-talking DNA. (There's a small percentage that remains unexplained, but experts aren't quick to dismiss it as junk just yet.) Rather than being inert, the portions of DNA that do not code for genes are busy instructing those genes when to turn on or off and how much protein to make not just in different cells but also at different points in our lifetimes. Somewhere in that 80% of DNA, for example, lie the instructions that make an uncommitted cell in a growing embryo march off to form a brain neuron or that tell a cell in the pancreas to churn out insulin in response to a meal or that guide a skin cell to bud off and replace an old one.

From DNA to Disease

IF THOSE GENETIC TRAFFIC COPS CAN keep the body functioning healthily, it stands to reason they must also be involved when things go awry. Research into the genetic roots of disease has been going on since long before the dark matter was mapped. Hundreds of so-called genome-wide association studies, which compared healthy individuals with those who had

specific diseases like schizophrenia, allowed scientists to pinpoint changes in affected individuals' genomes that did not appear in healthy participants'. If those differences did not happen to fall within a gene, the explanation given was either that scientists were failing to find them or that the problem didn't lie in the genome. Now it seems clear that what they were looking for might simply have been hidden in the black hole of the supposedly useless 98%. If you don't understand what that region does—or if you assume it does nothing—you'll never give it a good look.

By mapping that terra incognita, ENCODE opens up a whole new landscape of research. If a disease is indeed caused by a problem in one or more of the genetic on-off switches, which are properly known as regulatory regions, researchers should be able to trace it, study it and ultimately treat it. "Right now when

people think of disease, they really zoom in on the protein-coding stuff because that's the only thing they know how to interpret," says Michael Snyder, director of the Center for Genomics and Personalized Medicine at Stanford University and one of the project's investigators. "But for the first time, ENCODE lets us look beyond just those parts."

And that could mean turning the talk about personalized medicine, and the hope of matching patients' unique forms of disease to the best care for them, into reality. Treatments for all the big killers—heart conditions, diabetes, Alzheimer's—are likely to benefit from this approach, and among the first patients to reap rewards may be those battling cancer. The disease takes many forms in many tissues but is ultimately driven by one thing: cells that grow out of control. In recent years, anticancer drugs have targeted specific pathways in the tumor-making process, and some, like Herceptin for breast cancer and Gleeev for stomach cancers, have led to dramatic boosts in survival rates. Now that ENCODE has exposed the entire network of circuits that keep cancer cells alive, doctors anticipate that they will find new uses for existing drugs. Breast and lung tumors, for example, may turn out to rely on the same molecular circuit, so a drug used to treat one may help patients with the other.

Such payoffs will inevitably extend to the discovery of entirely new therapies. At Washington University in St. Louis, researchers have identified nearly two dozen transcription factors that transform raw DNA into RNA and then into functional proteins that 17 cancers have in common. Overactivation of these factors could fuel the growth of tumors. Find a way to bring them back under control and you tame a stunning 17 cancers—including ovarian, colon and breast—with a single treatment.

But even beyond the therapeutic applications, ENCODE is likely to become the navigation system of choice for patients who are simply trying to monitor and maintain their health. It won't be long before a checkup will mean getting your entire genome sequenced so your doctor can be better informed about your risk for disease. "This is the science for this century," says Ewan Birney of the U.K.'s European Bioinformatics Institute and ENCODE's lead analysis coordinator. "It's going to be really good fun to produce lots of insights into diseases over the next couple of years."

'This is a powerful resource for exploring the fundamental question of how life is encoded.'

—DR. ERIC GREEN, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME RESEARCH INSTITUTE

**"MY MOM HASN'T
ACCEPTED MY FRIEND
REQUEST YET.
WHAT COULD SHE
POSSIBLY BE DOING?"**



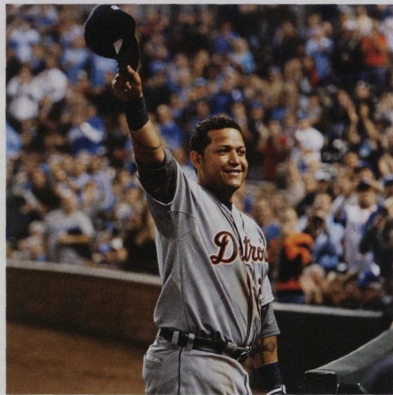
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Milestones

Induced pluripotent stem (iPS) cells created by Yamanaka grow into heart (blue) and nerve (green) cells



WON Miguel Cabrera. First triple crown in 45 years

Can a horse now step up? While Thoroughbred racing has not seen a Triple Crown since 1978, Detroit Tigers third baseman Miguel Cabrera won baseball's version of the mythic prize. Cabrera finished the regular season atop the American League in batting average (.330), home runs (44) and RBI (139), the first time a hitter led in all three categories since Carl Yastrzemski did it for the Boston Red Sox in 1967. Cabrera's past struggles with alcohol and Detroit's winning season—the Tigers finished first in the American League Central—made this historic feat even sweeter.

But it doesn't come without some controversy. Cabrera's triple crown has touched off an intriguing ideological debate that pits the stewards of baseball tradition against the scholars of sabermetrics—otherwise

known as the stat geeks. To hardcore number crunchers, Cabrera does not deserve the AL Most Valuable Player award, triple crown he's damned. Their argument: based on analytical measures of raw offensive production and defensive prowess, Los Angeles Angels rookie phenom Mike Trout is the best player in baseball by a landslide. And while the triple-crown triumph is nice, it's largely arbitrary.

Why should Cabrera's value depend on whether someone else hits one fewer or one more home run than he does? Whether or not you buy this argument—the dude won the triple freaking crown: just hand Cabrera the trophy—give the stats guys their due. They've given fans more fodder to chew over. And isn't barroom talk the best part of sports?

—SEAN GREGORY

AWARDED Nobel Prize In Medicine To two stem-cell pioneers

One trained in surgery then decided he was no good at it. The other was told by a teacher that the idea of his becoming a scientist was "ridiculous." But Japan's Dr. Shinya Yamanaka and Britain's John Gurdon persevered to share this year's Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. Gurdon launched the field of stem-cell science in 1962 by proving that adult cells of a frog retain the genetic material needed to produce a new tadpole. Forty-four years later, Yamanaka took that finding to the extreme when he mixed four genes with adult skin cells from mice (and later humans) and reprogrammed them to become embryo-like stem cells again. Because stem cells can be manipulated to replace diseased or missing cells in the body, they are poised to become a rich resource for treating diseases such as Alzheimer's and diabetes.

—ALICE PARK



DIED

Mervyn Dymally, 86, California's first black state assemblyman, state senator and lieutenant governor; he also served 12 years as a U.S. Congressman.

SET

An NFL record of 48 consecutive games with a touchdown pass, by New Orleans Saints QB Drew Brees; the Colts' Johnny Unitas had held the record for 52 years.

COMMISSIONED

The U.S.S. Michael Murphy, a destroyer named for a Navy lieutenant who was awarded the Medal of Honor after he died trying to save his SEAL team in Afghanistan.



DIED

Nguyen Chi Thien, 73, dissident poet; during 27 years as a prisoner of the Vietnamese government, he smuggled out the poems collected in *Flowers from Hell*.

DEBUTED

Sosan Firooz, Afghanistan's first female rapper; the 23-year-old released "Our Neighbors," a song about the oppression of women, on YouTube.

DIED

Alex Karras, 77, star defensive lineman for the Detroit Lions in the 1960s; he forged a second career in film (*Blazing Saddles*; *Victor/Victoria*) and TV (Webster).

Rana Foroohar



More Jobs, Less Pay

Productivity is no longer growing fast enough to boost wages

HERE'S A THOUGHT EXPERIMENT posed recently by Robert Gordon, an economics professor at Northwestern University. Imagine that you can have either a) all the wonderful technological inventions created since 2001, including Facebook, the iPhone and the iPad, or b) running water and indoor toilets. I'm betting even the most diehard geek will pick the latter, which may tell us something important about the nature of technology, economic growth and job creation in this country.

The latest unemployment figure of 7.8% is the best we've seen since 2009. Despite nutty conservative conspiracy theories of Bureau of Labor Statistics data manipulation, the gains are real. And they probably have something to do with the firepower that both the Obama Administration and the Fed have thrown at fixing the economy over the past few years. But the grim truth is that this number is still very, very high by historic standards.

And now for the bad news: while enough jobs are being created to bring unemployment down a few notches, wages are still totally stagnant. Most economists think unemployment has to fall below 7% to start seeing any wage growth at all, which is important when 70% of your economy is based on consumer spending. No raise, no spending. Sadly, the employment ratio—meaning the portion of the adult population that's actually working—is now at its lowest level since the early 1980s, when women hadn't fully entered the workforce.

Many politicians and economists argue that the solution is to innovate our way to growth by inventing more cool new technologies that will get people spending and companies hiring. But let's face it: those technologies already exist. (Raise your hand, iPhone 5 owners.)

Corporate profits are at record highs—the private sector is, in fact, doing just fine—and companies are buying plenty of cool new technology. The problem is that they are using it to replace human workers everywhere, with software eliminating white collar administrative jobs and robots getting Chinese factory gigs. "As computers race ahead, acquiring more and more skills in pattern matching, communication, perception and so on, I



expect that this decoupling [of corporate profits growth from hiring] will continue and maybe even accelerate," said MIT scientist Andrew McAfee, a co-author of *Race Against the Machine*, a very influential book about this shift, in a recent blog post.

That's an enormous change, since technology has historically been a net job creator. But as Northwestern's Gordon recently explored in a paper with the foreboding title "Is U.S. Economic Growth Over?" the trend has slowed significantly over the past four decades. He believes the major life-changing benefits of technological innovation came from 1870 to 1900, when electricity, the

internal-combustion engine and running water with indoor plumbing became widespread. This led to other innovations such as air-conditioning, sanitation, high-speed transport, mass communications, home appliances and all the social shifts—including female labor-force participation—and productivity gains that went with them. The computing revolution since 1970 was relatively small potatoes by comparison. To make his case, Gordon points out that productivity growth, and thus economic growth, was higher before the 1970s than after. That's lack of progress for ya.

The "innovation" crowd is always talking up the growth potential of the next

New New Thing. (Social media? Cloud computing? Genomic medicine?) But Gordon believes the low-hanging fruit has been plucked.

The last big tech-based productivity leap in the late 1990s, for example, was short and didn't create nearly as many jobs as booms past. The upshot: while technology is still doing a good job of displacing workers, it's not creating the kind of megashifts in productivity and income growth that allow for major increases in standards of living.

Of course, it's always risky business to bet against the disruptive power of a New New Thing, a fact that Gordon wisely acknowledges with a

slew of humorously false past predictions about technology, like when one of the Warner brothers dismissed the appeal of movies with sound when he asked, "Who the hell wants to hear actors talk?" But Gordon also outlines how the foundations of earlier, more-seismic innovation eras—strong K-12 education, more economic equality, better public and private finances and America's unrivaled position in the world—are either gone or shrinking fast. We're working against some serious headwinds to create real growth. Whoever ends up in the White House will have to grapple with the fact that growth may never be what it once was. ■



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Jonathan Haidt



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The New Culture War over Fairness

Obama and Romney have different definitions of what is right and just

THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A battle between two visions of fairness, embodied in President Obama's "You didn't build that" speech and Mitt Romney's disdain for "the 47%." Both candidates believe that tax rates on the rich must be changed to restore basic fairness and revive the American Dream, yet they plan to move those rates in opposite directions. The only way to make sense of these opposing strategies is to realize that there is more than one definition of *fairness*. In fact, there are three basic ones, and liberals and conservatives differ on which they value most.

1. Proportionality

Proportional fairness means that people get benefits in proportion to their contributions. Nobody is cheating or getting cheated. If you've ever shared a kitchen with roommates, you know how sensitive people can be about who's doing their fair share and who's the slacker who uses the kitchen but doesn't clean or shop. Everyone—right, left and center—values proportionality, but according to a survey I conducted with colleagues at YourMorals.org, conservatives value it more. When 5,200 Americans were asked if they agreed with the statement "Employees who work the hardest should be paid the most," 77% of people who described themselves as "very conservative" when they registered on the site agreed moderately or strongly, compared with 49% of people who described themselves as "very liberal."

This is the kind of fairness that pervades the speech in which Romney referred to the 47% of Americans who don't pay income taxes as moochers who believe that they are entitled to be cared for. By the logic of proportionality, people who are not paying into the Treasury should not be drawing benefits out.

2. Equality

The second common meaning of *fairness* is that everyone gets the same amount. Equality is a special case of proportionality. When everyone's inputs are equal, what's fair is that everyone should get the same outcome. With voting, for example, we think that all citizens are equal in their citizenship, so each citizen gets one vote. But what about wealth? Should that be equalized? Here, Americans disagree.



Regarding the statement "Ideally, everyone in society would end up with roughly the same amount of money," 42% of very liberal respondents agreed strongly or moderately, compared with just 1% of very conservative voters. Obama seems to be downplaying equality in this campaign after the trouble it brought him in 2008 over Joe the Plumber. When Joe asked whether Obama's plan would raise his taxes if his income rose, Obama said, "It's not that I want to punish your success... I think when you spread the wealth around, it's good for everybody."

But even if Obama never talks about redistribution anymore, many liberals do.

Among the most common themes of the protest signs at Occupy Wall Street was the need to raise taxes on the rich to create greater equality. At Tea Party rallies, one never sees signs extolling equality. Fairness is a major theme, but it is almost always fairness as proportionality. Tea Partiers may not be enthusiastic about Romney, but they share his conception of fairness insofar as they believe progressive taxation is a punishment for success and social programs are a reward for failure.

3. Procedural Fairness

Procedural fairness means that honest, open and impartial rules are used to determine who gets what. Both liberals and conservatives claim to value procedural fairness, but in a society with massive inequality, the rich have many opportunities to rig the game in their favor. Should we try to level the playing field? Liberals generally say yes, which is why Obama preceded his "You didn't build that" comment with praise of the government programs that helped his parents succeed. Conservatives are ambivalent, which is why Romney blamed social programs for creating a sense of entitlement. He preceded his "47%" comment with praise of his forebears, who succeeded despite the odds, with no help from government.

It's not that conservatives don't value procedural fairness. They surely want everyone to play by the rules in their workplaces or when they go to court. It's rather that they see government efforts to level the playing field as a covert attempt to enforce equality of outcomes despite inequality of inputs.

So this is where we are as a nation. We all agree that something is broken in the U.S. We all agree that the other side is to blame and that tax policy can be used to restore basic fairness. We just can't agree on what *fairness* means.

Haidt is a professor of business ethics at New York University's Stern School of Business and the author of The Righteous Mind

Mike Murphy



Goodbye, Mr. Scissorhands

Romney has recaptured his image as a centrist, pragmatic problem solver

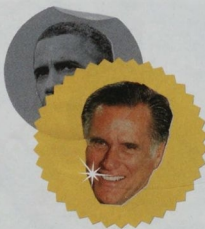
MITT ROMNEY WON MORE THAN just a debate in Denver; he won an opportunity to take the presidency away from Barack Obama. If he plays his cards right, he can repeat his own history and become the 45th President of the United States.

Until the evening got under way, Romney was on the verge of becoming a cartoon character. Obama's admen spent millions during the summer reducing him to a one-dimensional figure, a rich, heartless plutocrat who cared nothing for the people he was courting. That changed with the debate. Gone was the W. Mitt Scissorhands of Obama's relentless attacks. Instead, Romney looked comfortable in his skin, at ease with ideas, happy to be there and full of confidence. Voters got to see him with no filter. It was like meeting someone you had never met. And for a lot of us who know and respect him, it was therapeutic to see. (For Obama, the look was not so refreshing. After the debate, the Secret Service probably considered giving the President a new code name: Mr. Sandman.)

In ways that were not apparent at first, the debate recast the race as a choice between a smile and a smirk. Romney's first opportunity is to lock in the chance to be the smiling, optimistic face of American politics, much as Ronald Reagan was in the 1980s. Romney now looks like the more excited of the pair, the candidate brimming with ideas, the one who seems to want the job more and relish its challenges. That's always very appealing, but especially in times of economic pain and uncertainty. For more than a year the President's shaky management of the economy has made him the country's second choice for President. (Romney's problem had been that he was Americans' third

choice.) But now, if Mitt can capture the role of Mr. Big Picture Confidence while Obama sticks with his grinding, nit-picking strategy of running a small campaign about small things, the race could continue to move in Romney's favor.

The second opportunity is about Romney's image as a problem solver. In the nick of time, he's freed himself from the ideological litmus-test drudgery of the Republican primaries and made it



clear that he is first and foremost a friendly, economic fix-it man. That is the only kind of Republican who can prevail in a country where changing demographics have made winning national office no easy task for the GOP.

The third opportunity turns on confidence. Romney's success in Denver has given his campaign the maneuvering room to do something it has been scared to do until now: move back to the political center. This was already happening before the debate—Romney quietly took more-moderate positions on taxes and deficit reduction in September—but it has continued since, mostly in an effort

to win the white college-educated female voters Romney badly needs. He can now embrace his naturally more centrist side without fear of reprisal from the GOP's conservative base. After looking defeat in the eye throughout September, the party's movement-conservative warlords have decided, all things being equal, it's a lot more fun to win.

We know how the Obama team is going to react to this. It will do what all campaigns do when staring into an abyss of plunging polls: it will try to fight off panic by overcompensating. Just when Romney is going to accentuate the positive, Obama's guys in Chicago are likely to break out the ugly sticks and double down on their negative-ad strategy. Therein lies Romney's greatest opportunity: as Obama goes small and negative, Romney can best him by ramping up his big positive message of economic repair and renewal. The attacks that worked so well for the Obama campaign over the summer won't ring as true now to the millions of people who saw the debate. Obama's biggest weakness is that the only vision his campaign is offering is an endless tirade of what's wrong with Romney. That message, Big Bird ads and all, looks smaller than ever, and it's no longer enough to save the President.

For Romney, there is a potential precedent for all this. In 2002 he turned around a losing race for governor of Massachusetts at about this stage. That year, many imagined Mitt to be nothing more than the awkward loser badly beaten by Ted Kennedy in the 1994 Senate race. Local pundits, totally disconnected with voters, thought Mitt was too probusiness, too GOP and too Mormon to win the Bay State. But then Romney started agreeing to TV debates, where he made his case. Mitt surged, winning by five points. Romney is a horse who breaks late and runs hard. And late is now.

Murphy is a Republican consultant and was chief strategist of Romney's 2002 campaign for governor of Massachusetts



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Erectile dysfunction means a man cannot get or keep an erection. Health problems, injury, or side effects of drugs may cause ED. The cause may not be known.

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VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA.

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BEFORE YOU START VIAGRA

Tell your doctor if you have or ever had:

- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
- Heart problems, such as heart failure, chest pain, or aortic valve narrowing
- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.
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POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

The most common side effects are:

- Headache
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- Upset stomach

Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
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- If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

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Joe Klein



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Get Down off the Mountaintop Obama needs to embrace politics if he wants to win this thing

THIS MAY BE THE MOST MYSTERIOUS presidential election I've ever covered. Both candidates are enigmas. Mitt Romney is a traditional political conundrum: he's stood on so many sides of so many issues, it's difficult to know what he really believes. We've seen such candidates before, especially moderate Republicans who try to pander to their party's flagrant base. George H.W. Bush was Exhibit A. But Barack Obama is an entirely unique phenomenon. We know where he stands on the issues. We know his no-drama style. Still, there's something essentially unknowable about him, a protective opacity rather than a slipperiness. He frustrates supporters and opponents alike.

In the days after the President's bizarre—there is no other word for it—debate performance, there was an eruption of theories. Some were odious. Various conservative commentators offered that Obama was finally disrobed, a mediocrity dependent on a teleprompter. There was a distinct racial tinge to this, I believe. Former New Hampshire governor John Sununu, co-chair of the Romney campaign, called the President lazy, which has more than a little ethnic history attached to it. But Obama's performance was so dreadful that even some liberals, like the comedian Bill Maher, drifted into the maybe-he-really-does-need-a-teleprompter trope.

This is beyond foolish, of course. The President is no dummy; he's as well versed in the nuances of policy as Bill Clinton, if decidedly less compelling. Watch him in any press conference. Go back and look at his question-and-answer session with House Republicans after the 2010 election. He knows his stuff. But there haven't been many press conferences—or town meet-

ings, for that matter. His kinder debate critics said he was rusty, which is true, but there's more to it than that. Obama *chooses* to be rusty. This is also strange: he's warm and informal in person. He enjoys a good policy discussion—and I mean discussion, in which he actually responds to things you say or ask rather than speechifying. In my experience, though, he hates small talk, especially flattery, and that gets us closer to the heart of his current troubles.

I am reminded of Obama's relationship with the late Richard Holbrooke, who



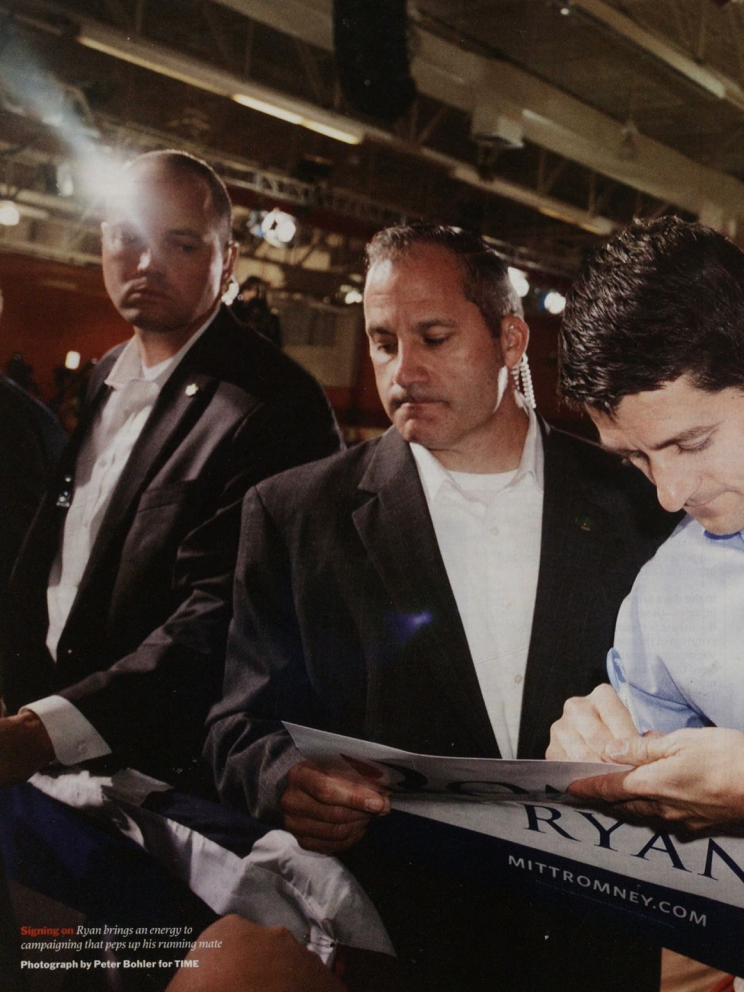
was—in Clinton's loving estimation—"the world's worst flatterer." Holbrooke was a brilliant diplomat, but he tended to stuff his briefings, and memos, with heavy ladlings of unctious and hyperbole. (*Unprecedented* was a favorite Holbrooke word.) He annoyed Obama no end, but that's a luxury no President can afford—because the art of politics is a honey-and-balcony sandwich. It is undignified and icky, qualities not often associated with Barack Obama. Qualities, in fact, that are utterly disdained by Barack Obama.

I am also reminded of an exchange that took place at a town meeting during my 2010 road trip. A man said his mother

had just gotten \$250 in her direct-deposit checking account and didn't know where it came from. "I checked it out and found that it came from the federal government," the man said. It was money to fill the so-called Medicare prescription drug doughnut hole. "I'm a big Obama supporter," the man continued. "But why couldn't he tell us about that?" Indeed, another politician might have shown up at a senior center with a giant Publishers Clearing House-size check for \$250 and a truckload of doughnuts—or some other treacly, transparent emolument.

When I asked several close Obama associates about the President's reluctance to sell his policies, they admitted their frustration. They said he hates doing things that he considers transparently political. He hates the idea of inviting a bunch of pols over to the White House for a drink or a movie, because they'd see it as an obvious bribe. He'd have to fake small talk; they'd try to Holbrooke him. He hates press conferences because the gotcha questions are calibrated to generate heat rather than light. He hates the notion of launching precooked zingers in debates. He hates debates, period, with their false air of portent and stage-managed aggression. These are inconvenient prejudices if you want to be re-elected. Such ceremonies are the price of admission if you want to be a politician.

There is a second aspect of the President's public straitjacket. His campaign staff has been brilliant when it comes to painting Romney as a hapless plutocrat but has been AWOL when it comes to promoting a second-term vision for the President. The only policy proposal I can recall in his debate performance and convention speech was to add 100,000 math and science teachers. How lame and formulaic, especially for a politician sensitive to the empty platitudes of his trade. Now that Mitt Romney has established himself as something other than an automaton, Barack Obama is going to have to come clean, descend from the mountaintop and make his best case for keeping the job. ■



Signing on Ryan brings an energy to campaigning that peps up his running mate

Photograph by Peter Bohler for TIME



NATION

THE PHENOM

PAUL RYAN MADE HIS NAME AS A BUDGET
GEEK. BUT ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL HE'S BEEN
MORE PERFORMER THAN WONK

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

MITT ROMNEY'S RUNNING MATE WAS DOING WHAT HE LIKES BEST: WONKING OUT. "I'M KIND OF A POWERPOINT GUY,"

so I hope you'll bear with me," Paul Ryan told about 2,000 people at the University of Central Florida gymnasium in Orlando in late September. The two giant screens flanking the stage flashed a rising red line—the U.S.'s current path toward fiscal Armageddon. "This is worse than Europe," he said. "We can't keep spending money we don't have." The next slide showed the flags of foreign countries, including China, that hold U.S. debt. "You lose your sovereignty," he said. "You lose your independence." Heads nodded.

But it was the slide Ryan left out of his presentation that may have said the most. Though he had promised the crowd "specific ideas, specific solutions," he actually didn't detail his plans to tackle the nation's \$15 trillion debt. And his presentation, typical of Ryan as he stumps for the GOP ticket this fall, made no mention of his signature idea, adopted by Romney, to overhaul that beloved entitlement program for seniors, Medicare, and limit its growth.

It took a question from the crowd to get the wonk talking specifics. Democrats, warned a silver-haired man, were attacking Ryan's Medicare plan. "They've been trying to intimidate us retirees down here," he said. Though Ryan's plan wouldn't affect people currently 55 or older, he said, many seniors were nonetheless fearful about their benefits. "We need to get that message," the man urged, "out loud and clear."

"You can help us by getting the truth out," Ryan replied from the stage. Barack Obama, he said, is running "a campaign of division and distortion ... And nowhere is that more clear than on the issue of Medi-

care." Ryan went on to argue that Obama has passed his own cuts to the program and that the Ryan-Romney approach would involve "choice and competition."

The Republican crowd cheered. But the questioner had identified a threat to the GOP ticket in swing states like Florida. Recent polling shows Democrats winning the argument over Medicare, which many voters now call second in importance only to the economy. Romney's choice of Ryan in August "added a new issue to the agenda," says Robert Blendon, who tracks health care opinion at the Harvard School of Public Health. "And the issue is a negative one for the Romney-Ryan team."

With roughly three weeks left in a long campaign, Romney is feeling the calculated risk he took when he chose Ryan to be his running mate on Aug. 11. The selection thrilled conservatives eager for a bold campaign about entitlements and the size of government, but party strategists warned that he was inviting a savage Democratic "Mediscare" campaign of the sort Ryan's questioner warned him about. Two months later, the strategists are looking prescient. That may be why Romney and Ryan have spent little time promoting a vision of dramatic spending-and-entitlement cuts, maintaining a sharp focus on unemployment and a grab bag of Obama vulnerabilities from Middle East unrest to energy policy. Once famous for his long policy seminars, Ryan has steered clear of specifics. Whereas his predecessor, Sarah Palin, famously went rogue, Ryan has gone vague.

And yet what few predicted was Ryan's

skill as a campaigner. He has proved to be a kind of boy wonder, bringing youth and spirit to the ticket and firing up a sometimes lackluster Romney at their joint campaign events. "There's obvious energy when they're together," says one campaign aide. Ryan is even keeping the race close in his Democratic-leaning home state of Wisconsin. As Election Day approaches, a new reality has begun to emerge: Ryan may have been a smart pick for Romney despite his policy positions, not because of them.

Running on, and Away from, Medicare

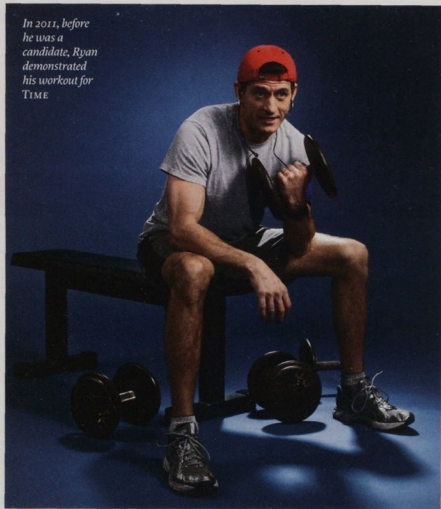
VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES RARELY shape the course of a campaign. But Romney's selection of a Congressman famous for budget blueprints so austere that President Obama called them "social Darwinism" stirred unusual passions from the start. The Obama campaign called Ryan "radical" and "extreme," while conservatives saw something closer to deliverance and geared up for an epic clash of policy visions. "In choosing Mr. Ryan, Mr. Romney is betting that Americans ... will reward the candidate who pays them the compliment of offering solutions that match the magnitude of the problems," applauded the *Wall Street Journal's* conservative editorial page.

Ryan's most significant solution to the debt mess is his plan to overhaul Medicare, a program that—thanks to aging baby boomers, growing life expectancy and rising health care costs—is the fiscal equivalent of an open fire hydrant. His plan would try to contain those costs, which threaten to cripple the federal government with debt, by replacing the program's virtually unlimited reimbursements to physicians with fixed payments to seniors to buy health care. Democrats protest that these "vouchers," as they call them, will lag behind rising health care costs, leaving all but wealthy seniors unable to keep up. Not so, says Ryan, who promises that the plan will drive down overall costs by introducing private-sector competition and giving Medicare patients an incentive to pay attention to what their care costs. (Unlike earlier versions Ryan authored, it will also allow seniors to stay in traditional

Onstage, offstage Ryan has been a hit with Republicans on the stump. He returns to Wisconsin to visit his family most weekends



In 2011, before he was a candidate, Ryan demonstrated his workout for TIME



THE RIGHT TO BARE ARMS. HOW YOU TOO CAN GET IN RUNNING-MATE SHAPE

According to Tony Horton—the stand-up comedian turned creator of P90X, the rigorous fitness system Congressman Paul Ryan uses to get fit, Ryan likes to use weights, but you don't need a lot of equipment to get fit. Ryan likes to use weights, but you don't need a lot of equipment to get fit. Ryan likes to use weights, but you don't need a lot of equipment to get fit. Ryan likes to use weights, but you don't need a lot of equipment to get fit.

TIME asked Horton to suggest a get-fit campaign that could be implemented during the presidential campaign but still leave time for careful consideration of the issues. He recommended an upper-body exercise, a cardiovascular interval exercise, a core exercise and a leg exercise (see right).

Voter confusion often leads to disappointing

A 15-MINUTE WORKOUT THAT COULD MAKE ANYONE FIT FOR OFFICE



1. Do one set of as many push-ups as you can

2. Stand up and run in place for 60 seconds



4. Do 30 lunges or 30 squats. Repeat this routine as many times as possible until November



3. Get back down on the floor and do 30 crunches



results, but according to Horton, muscle confusion has the opposite effect. He recommends changing routines often so muscles don't get accustomed to any one exercise. Instead, make like the party and diversity. "Do a different push-up every time," suggests Horton. "Add martial arts, kenpo karate or jumping jacks or whatever on that second move." On the crunches, modify your position to engage the abs or core directly. "You can do squats with your feet wide, your feet narrow," he says.

It's a workout that might also give you a bounce. "As few as two rounds of that will release norepinephrine, dopamine and serotonin," says Horton. Perfect for when the poll numbers aren't going your way. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

Medicare, although Democrats say the other changes will badly undermine the core program.)

At first, Romney seemed to embrace the challenge of having a budget cutter like Ryan on the ticket. "Medicare's one of those [things] that's very important to talk about," he said days after tapping Ryan. "We want this debate," Ryan said in Ohio. "We need this debate. And we will win this debate."

But that debate hasn't really happened. In his hard-edged Republican Convention speech, for instance, Ryan assaulted Obama's record but boiled down his proposal to avert a national fiscal crisis to platitudes: "A Romney-Ryan Administration will protect and strengthen Medicare, for my mom's generation, for my generation and for my kids and yours," Ryan said. He made no mention of reforming the program to limit its costs. Instead, both Romney and Ryan have gone on the attack, portraying Obama as the real enemy of Medicare. "The greatest threat to Medicare is Obamacare, and we're going to stop it," Ryan said in Tampa. Likewise, Romney's only mention of the program at the convention was a similar shot at Obama's Affordable Care Act. There's sound political logic here: Republican attacks on Obamacare's \$716 billion in cuts to Medicare providers played a starring role in the GOP's 2010 midterm-election romp. Ryan neglects to mention that his own budget proposal includes those same cuts, leading to Democratic charges of hypocrisy. "We got out ahead on it," says a Romney campaign aide. "The Obama campaign was on the defensive."

It wasn't long before Democrats were back on the offensive. In Charlotte, Bill Clinton blasted the Romney-Ryan approach as "the end of Medicare as we know it." And the Obama campaign has aired ads in Florida, Ohio and other swing states explaining that the "Ryan Plan" will raise costs for seniors; the ad closes with a shot of an elderly woman in her bathrobe reading medical bills with dismay.

So far, Democrats have kept the upper hand. A late-September survey by the Washington Post and the Kaiser Family Foundation found that voters in Ohio, Virginia and Florida prefer Obama's Medicare position to the Romney-Ryan reforms by wide margins. In Florida, Obama has 65% support on the issue. Other polling has shown Obama gaining among seniors

since Ryan entered the campaign as the issue of health care rises in importance to voters. "Since the conventions, Democrats have spent a lot of money to tell people what the Ryan plan is and how it works," Blendon notes. But it is also true that other polling has shown a murkier picture, with the candidates virtually tied on who would best handle Medicare policy. Republicans say that anything less than a commanding lead for Obama on an issue on which Democrats traditionally enjoy an advantage amounts to a win for the GOP.

Nor have Romney and Ryan entirely dodged the details of their Medicare plan. In the first debate, Romney unapologetically defended Ryan's Medicare vision as an effort to introduce competition into the program—but only after Obama raised the point (and Ryan's name) first. In a Sept. 21 speech to the AARP, much of which was devoted to attacking Obamacare, Ryan touted his plan as "empower[ing] future seniors to choose the coverage that works best for them," with a financial support system "designed to guarantee that seniors can always afford Medicare, no exceptions." But he offered no estimate of his plan's savings or how much more seniors who turn down traditional Medicare might have to pay.

Still, some conservatives fret that Romney is now stuck with the worst of both worlds: carrying the baggage of an unpopular Medicare plan without embracing it enough to excite small-government conservatives or develop a mandate for the idea should he be elected. "Most people feel that if you're going to have Ryan on the ticket, you might as well hit Medicare head-on," says one GOP operative.

Liberals say there's an obvious reason for muffling the Ryan message. The public doesn't support balancing the budget through huge spending cuts. Columnists may extol Ryan's budgets as visionary and hardheaded, but their particulars have never been popular. For instance, only 18% of Americans would support major cuts to Medicare to reduce the deficit, according to a June 2011 Kaiser Family Foundation poll. "The policies in the Ryan budget are deeply unattractive to both seniors and middle-class voters," says Neera

Tanden, president of the liberal Center for American Progress.

It's fair to say that Ryan the candidate is a pure wonk in his diagnosis of America's economic ills. But when it comes to solutions, he is often just fuzzy. And it's not just health care. Grilled during a Sept. 30 Fox News appearance about how much Romney's proposed income tax cuts would cost, Ryan wouldn't answer. "I don't have the time. It would take me too long to go through all of the math," he said. Voters may be taking notice. "We keep talking about China and jobs, and then we talk about the unemployment," a woman at a town hall in Clinton, Iowa, told Ryan days later. "But where are the

RYAN IS A PURE WONK
IN HIS DIAGNOSIS OF
AMERICA'S ECONOMIC
ILLS. BUT WHEN IT
COMES TO SOLUTIONS,
HE IS OFTEN FUZZY

answers? I mean, why aren't you more specific? ... What are your plans?"

A Winner Either Way

OF COURSE, CAMPAIGNS ARE ABOUT MORE than policy details. And Ryan has been an asset in less tangible ways. His speech was a Tampa highlight, thrilling Republicans (and infuriating Democrats, who accused him of brazen lies). He has turned out to be a natural on the stump, more at ease and plain-speaking than the often starchy Romney. Dropping by a restaurant in Miami's Little Havana neighborhood, Ryan worked in a reference to his days of tarpon and bone fishing in the Florida Keys. In Orlando, his face brightened when a woman who'd frantically waved her hand to ask a question joked that she felt like the eager Arnold Horshack from *Welcome Back, Kotter*. "I'm old enough to get that Horshack joke!" the 42-year-old Ryan quipped, drawing a round of giggles. Even

Jon Stewart had to interrupt a recent anti-Ryan rant to call him "chiseled-chin McNicey face ... He's *really* good-looking."

Ryan has also been an important Romney messenger to blue collar voters who may be suspicious of a multimillionaire venture capitalist charged by Democrats with laying off dozens of workers. Ryan has stumped repeatedly in the industrial Midwest, touting his small-town Wisconsin roots, his Catholicism and his love of hunting.

And then there's the electoral map. Obama's durable lead in several battleground states limits Romney's path to an electoral majority. But Ryan's presence on the ticket has helped put in play Wisconsin's 10 electoral votes, which could be enough to rescue Romney if he loses Ohio. One respected poll recently showed Romney just two points behind in the Badger State.

If Romney does win, Ryan could become one of the most influential Vice Presidents in history. Perhaps no other No. 2 would take on the Veep's job with so clear a policy agenda. And the chemistry between the two men suggests that Ryan would have a prominent seat at Romney's table. Indeed, campaign aides say that a shared love of data and number crunching influenced Romney's decision to choose Ryan at least as much as any strategic calculus for the fall campaign.

And if Obama should prevail? Ryan is sure to be at the center of an internal war within the Republican Party over what went wrong. Party moderates will undoubtedly argue that going after a popular program like Medicare was a foolish fight to pick. Conservatives will bray—as they have already begun to do—that Ryan was never "unleashed," allowed to make the kind of sales pitch for his ideas that they have seen in private for several years now. "The Romney ticket would be well served to let Paul Ryan be Paul Ryan," Chris Chocola, head of the conservative Club for Growth, recently told the *New York Times*. The winning side in that civil war could determine whether Ryan is remembered as an accident of history or, more likely, an early favorite for the 2016 Republican nomination. ■

WORLD

BIG BROT



HERHOOD

China is undergoing a rare leadership transition at a time of rising social tensions. Inside the world's biggest security state

BY HANNAH BEECH/BEIJING

Her apparent Xi Jinping, seen here with China's other top leaders at a National Day celebration, is poised to take the reins in November



the country's far west. The most recent estimate, by a Beijing sociologist, was of 180,000 protest-related incidents in 2010, compared with 87,000 five years before. Prominent Chinese academics tell me that the number today is probably double that of two years ago.

No one is suggesting that these numerous but isolated flare-ups will spread into a wildfire of dissent—at least, not yet. But the rising discontent spooks China's stability-obsessed leaders, not least because the Arab Spring demonstrated how quickly revolutions can gather force. "If you look at these protests, almost all of them are because of abuse of governmental power," says outspoken Chinese economist Mao Yushi. "That's why the leaders are very worried. They are the cause of the political instability."

Yet as it marks more than six decades in power, the Communist Party still refuses to undertake significant political reform. Instead, Hu and his henchmen have constructed a massive internal-security apparatus that by China's admission received more than \$110 billion in funding this year. *Weiwén* (pronounced *Way-when*) is Chinese shorthand for maintaining stability, and it is the government's mantra these days, encompassing everything from security forces who beat up protesting grannies to secret prisons that house political dissidents to the armies of cen-

sors who scrub the media and Internet of wayward opinions.

For local officials and government ministries, promising to improve *weiwén* is the easiest way to wrest cash from the central government. Much of the funding is off the books, disappearing into a black hole of armed agents with no clear bosses and jails that officially don't exist. Also competing for its share of China's security budget is the military, which has amplified its saber rattling—against the U.S., Japan and other Asian nations—to earn more influence with the new leadership. "There is no question that China is the biggest security state in the world," says Guo Xuezhai, a professor at Guilford College in North Carolina whose most recent book is called, straightforwardly, *China's Security State*.

There is little indication that Xi and company will loosen the grip of this repressive regime, although they may reorganize the channels of decisionmaking. "The top priority for the Chinese Communist Party is to hold on to its own power, and to do that the party knows that society must be stable," says Xie Yue, a politics professor at Shanghai's Tongji University. But in a country light on rule of law, that leaves 1.3 billion Chinese vulnerable to the whims of their leaders. Local cadres know their promotions depend on avoiding unrest, and the easy course is to crack down on any incipient dissent instead of address-

ing the underlying social problems. "For the sake of stability," Beijing sociologist Yu Jianrong wrote last year, "[we have] suppressed the livelihood of the people, suppressed human rights, suppressed rule of law, suppressed reform. But stability preservation has not suppressed corruption, nor has it suppressed mining tragedies, nor has it suppressed illegal property demolitions and seizures."

The Chinese Communist Party has overseen the greatest economic expansion in world history. It has helped lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. Without tying itself in ideological knots, the party embraced a state-sponsored capitalism that is fundamentally opposed to the socialist underpinnings of the People's Republic. A new covenant was struck in what technically is still a communist state: the government will allow you to become rich, but you must not question the leaders' political wisdom. It seemed an acceptable pact. After all, isn't the freedom of a few—the dissidents, the independents, the democrats—worth sacrificing for the overall good of the most populous nation on the planet? Yet as we have learned from modern history, in the longer term, an authoritarian society tends toward less stability the more prosperity its people enjoy.

Now, particularly as China's economy slows and double-digit growth can no longer propel the nation, its

PROBABLE FUTURE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

China's consensus-based leadership system means the make-up of the Politburo Standing Committee is of vital importance

PRINCELING



Wang Qishan
Vice premier for economy, energy and finance

PRINCELING



Zhang Dejiang
Party chief of Chongqing

PRINCELING



Yu Zhengsheng
Party chief of Shanghai

PRINCELING AND COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE



Li Yuanchao
Head of the party's organization department

POSSIBLE MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

China's inner leadership circle could admit its first woman if Liu Yandong makes the Standing Committee

COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE



Wang Yang
Party chief of Guangdong province

PRINCELING AND COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE



Liu Yandong
State councilor

COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE



Liu Yunshan
Head of Party Propaganda Department



citizens are clamoring for yet another break from the past. Talking over the past couple of months with Chinese of varying backgrounds—academics, entrepreneurs, farmers and even the odd Communist Party diehard—I have been struck most by their shared conviction that China's political system must fundamentally transform itself or face the kind of social upheaval that swept away the imperial dynasties and ancient warring kingdoms. While many Westerners are buying into the hype of a coming Chinese century, the Chinese I spoke to predicted an altogether more complicated future. In these uncertain times, no wonder the Chinese leadership is striving for *weiwu*, even if the whole endeavor reeks of desperation. "Rule of law, political transparency—that's probably a long way away," admits Fang Ning, director of the institute of political science at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a government-funded think tank. "But we all know that change will eventually have to come to China."

Strong on the outside *China's National Day celebrations in Tiananmen Square showed off the country's might, but it faces major problems*

Mystery Man

THE FIGURE EXPECTED TO HOLD CHINA TOGETHER is Xi (full name pronounced She Jean-ping), a 59-year-old member of the red aristocracy whose father Xi Zhongxun was a trusted lieutenant of Mao's before he was purged in the early 1960s and later jailed. The younger Xi then traded the lacquered halls of Beijing's leadership compound for seven years of labor in an agricultural commune. Like other members of a generation displaced by the Cultural Revolution—Mao's terror-filled 1966–76 political campaign, which upended hundreds of millions of lives—Xi may have developed an allergy to tumultuous times. All the more reason, then, to value *weiwu*. When colleges reopened in the mid-1970s, Xi studied chemical engineering at Beijing's Tsinghua University, a breeding ground for future party leaders. His government career has limned the ideological shifts of the

Communist Party: he first served as a personal assistant to a Defense Minister, then toiled as a village apparatchik and later as a provincial and municipal chief, riding a wave of foreign investment washing over the country's prosperous coast.

As Xi climbed the ranks, his pedigree and ability to reach out to feuding factions within the party served him well. His expeditious rise mirrors that of other so-called princelings, whose privileged upbringings as Communist Party scions contrasts with the more hardscrabble backgrounds of the government's other main faction, made up of Communist Youth League members like Hu.

Beyond the bare bones of his résumé, little is known about the next President. Xi's father eventually resurrected his career in the late 1970s and helped liberalize China's economy while also calling for political openness. In 1989, the elder Xi even condemned the bloody crackdown on the Tiananmen Square protesters. His son, however, has not openly expressed any taste for reform. His current job

requires him to receive world leaders and build the party's morale and scope. Xi's public persona, such as it is, hews to the hale and hearty, a reflection of little more than his broad shoulders, ample grin and strong handshake. Some of his personality consists of deflected glory: his second wife is a mascara-loving folksinger in the People's Liberation Army—quite a contrast to the retiring spouses of other recent Chinese leaders.

While discussing China's performance during the global financial crisis in a speech in Mexico City in 2009, Xi showed a darker side in a rare strident public moment. "Some foreigners with full bellies and nothing better to do engage in finger-pointing at us," he seethed. "First, China does not export revolution. Second, it does not export famine and poverty. And third, it does not mess around with you. So what else is there to say?" Still, academics with government ties have told me that Xi has met quietly in recent months with reform-minded intellectuals, including some who have called for the government to face up to the Tiananmen crackdown. He is far more widely traveled than Hu, and his sister, first wife and only child all live abroad. (His daughter is studying at Harvard under an assumed name.)

First Among Equals

WHATEVER HIS POLITICS PROVE TO BE, XI will be assuming a position of diminished authority. (Along with the most important title of General Secretary of the Communist Party, Xi will eventually inherit two other top posts: Chairman of the Central Military Commission and President of China, the latter being the least vital of his roles.) Each of the People's Republic's four previous leaders has enjoyed less power than his predecessor. Decisionmaking in today's China is not concentrated in the hands of one man, as in the days of Mao, when policy was made decisively but often impulsively. To rein in such runaway power, major courses of action nowadays depend on a consensus reached by the members of the Politburo Standing Committee. Most of its current nine members (the ones at Tiananmen Square during the Oct. 1 celebrations) will retire when the 18th Party Congress convenes on Nov. 8, and there are rumors that the governing body will be trimmed to seven seats for efficiency's sake.

Horse trading over who will succeed to the Standing Committee's vaulted ranks has preoccupied the party for years,

AN ORWELLIAN STATE

DOMESTIC CONTROL

At least 10 government ministries have as part of their mission cracking down on social unrest, most notably the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of State Security, the Ministry of Supervision and the Ministry of Justice. The blandly named Central Politics and Law Commission, which reports to party elders, fits between these ministries, although the new leadership may finally curb its octopus-like grasp on the security budget. The People's Armed Police, local militias and even hired thugs provide additional muscle beyond regular law-enforcement officers. There's even a clandestine, extralegal brotherhood called the 610 Office that was originally designed to root out cults but now has been accused of torturing human-rights activists.

The dizzying array of Big Brothers makes it hard to even contemplate reforming the system. Who is actually detaining the tens of thousands of Chinese dissidents, democrats and other independent thinkers who are thrown into "labor through re-education" camps? Last year, when word of a Jasmine-revolution-style protest wafted across Beijing, thugs dressed as street sweepers attacked some foreign journalists. Last month, well-sourced academics began whispering about a new agency that will research political revolutions in other countries and how to avoid a similar fate at home. Its budget could reach billions of dollars.

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

In September, as China's territorial dispute with Japan over a scattering of uninhabited islands flared, thousands of protesters marched past the Japanese embassy in Beijing, throwing bottles and cursing the wartime foe.

In a security state, protests of this scale don't happen without official encouragement. Someone signed off on the demos, and someone identified the protesters with identical posters of Chairman Mao, whose image was held aloft as the icon of a proud era when China stood up forcefully to Japan. That someone, say four well-placed sources, was the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which is angling for more clout after the 18th Party Congress. (Strikingly, no posters of Hu or Xi were on display at the anti-Japan protests.)

The PLA has expanded its role on both the domestic and the international front. The Central Military Commission has increased its sway over the People's Armed Police, which is the main force deployed to quash internal dissent. Over the past few months, the PLA has also fortified China's resolve in territorial disputes with many of its maritime neighbors, most notably Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines. When U.S. President Barack Obama announced last year that the U.S. was pivoting its foreign policy toward Asia, the declaration only emboldened Chinese military hard-liners. "You listen to China's leaders over the past few months, and they've been emphasizing over and over that the PLA needs to be loyal to the civilian leaders," says He Qinglian, a Chinese commentator who lives in exile in New Jersey. "But they are calling for what they lack. The PLA expects a greater role in the next leadership, and it will get it."

THE THIRD FRONT

Here are some search terms banned from Chinese social-media sites in recent months: *Ferrari, liver cancer, car sex, blind man and six four*. All these were deemed taboo because of incidents in which the Communist Party didn't appear

at its finest. As in the overall *welwei* apparatus, there is no one department that oversees China's cyber-militia. Agencies that have a hand in building the Great Firewall of China include the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, the Ministry of Public Security, the PLA, the Communist Youth League and the recently created State Internet Information Office, Private Internet companies (both Chinese and foreign) are also expected to self-censor and spy on their users, lest they be shut down for undermining state security. At the same time, hackers with Chinese IP addresses have stepped up cyberwarfare efforts to the point that the U.S. Congress said earlier this year that Chinese hackers could threaten the American military. Everyone from U.S. government agencies and human-rights organizations to foreign journalists in China has been targeted. "If you think that China might have hacked you, then it has," boasts one former cyberhacker. "Even if you don't think they have, they probably have anyway."

China's huge efforts to control the online sphere show how wary the leadership is of this brave new frontier. Twitter (like YouTube and Facebook) is banned in China, but Sina Weibo, a local microblogging platform, is now used by nearly 300 million Chinese, compared with more than 50 million two years ago. In that short period, Weibo users have uncovered political scandals and forced the resignation of corrupt cadres. They also poke fun at the Communist Party with inventive ruses to thwart the censors. One example is using May 35 to refer to the Tiananmen slaughter of June 4, since these would be the same dates if May extended past the 31st. Even in a restricted society, humor flourishes in unexpected ways.



The next generation Xi, center, will find it harder than Hu, right, to maintain unity at the top

pitting current leaders like Hu against party elders like Jiang Zemin, the former President who was the one to anoint Xi in the first place. No one outside the inner party sanctum knows for certain which men (and possibly one woman) will rule China until the new Standing Committee struts across a stage during the Party Congress. But beyond Xi and Li Keqiang, its members will most likely include Zhang Dejiang, a hard-liner who studied economics in North Korea, and Li Yuanchao, a political reformer who underwent midcareer training at Harvard.

Far more than articulating a vision for China's future, Xi's job will be to bring these disparate Standing Committee members together, especially at a time when the party is still reeling from a scandal earlier this year that downed Bo Xilai, its most individualistic and charismatic politician. A leftist princeling, Bo has been accused of a slew of crimes, ranging from chronic abuse of power to violating party discipline. In August, his wife was handed a suspended death sentence in the murder last year of a British business consultant. Beyond the lurid headlines, the case tore open the narrative of a seamless political transition and exposed rifts

in a Chinese leadership that yearns to portray itself as united. Bo's most shocking transgression may have been to use an unchecked security apparatus to spy on his political rivals, possibly even wiretapping top leaders. The fallout from Bo's case appears to have distracted the leadership with byzantine power plays at a time when the country's slowing economy needs a firm guiding hand.

The recent political chaos—which included Xi's unexplained public absence for two weeks in September as well as a Ferrari crash that killed the son of a top Hu ally—will only heighten the Communist Party's desire for control. Bo's presumed political patron, security chief Zhou Yongkang, who is primarily responsible for having built up the massive *weiwen* apparatus over the past decade, must retire next month because he will soon turn 70. His replacement may not be promoted to the Standing Committee, which has spurred speculation that the security state might be reined in. But there's little chance of that, say those who study the *weiwen* system. "Xi and the new Standing

Committee will want to make *weiwen* decisions themselves instead of having one person [like Zhou] control it," says *China's Security State* author Guo. "The new leaders' No. 1 criterion for success will still be maintaining stability."

That repressive instinct was on full display on Oct. 1 when China's leaders gathered in Tiananmen Square to commemorate the birth of the People's Republic. To the outside world, Tiananmen evokes a foiled democratic uprising crushed by an authoritarian regime. To the Chinese people, Tiananmen, which means Gate of Heavenly Peace, is the soul of the nation and the refuge of last resort. Last month, a Chinese court sentenced seven people to hard labor in a prison camp. Their crime? Protesting the illegal demolition of their homes or businesses by kneeling briefly in front of the Chinese flag in Tiananmen Square. It was an act of desperation, just one of hundreds of thousands of mass incidents that Xi Jinping will have to face in his coming decade in power. How Xi and his fellow leaders handle that growing dissent will help decide the future of China—and the rest of the world as well. —WITH REPORTING BY CHENGCHENG JIANG AND GU YONGQIANG/BEIJING ■

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SPACE

ALIENS AMONG US

The universe is aswarm with the stuff of biology—and it could be seeding life everywhere

BY JEFFREY KLUGER



The Pacific Ocean seen from space—a cozy spot for extraterrestrial microbes to land. Image from Michael Benson's new book, Planetfall



THE FIREBALL BEARING DOWN ON THE little town of Tata, in southwestern Morocco, in July 2011 was like nothing the locals had ever seen. There was one sonic boom, then another as a yellow slash of fire cut across the sky. The yellow turned to a landscape illuminating green, the fireball split in two, and a hail of smoldering rocks crashed to the ground across the surrounding valley. With that, the planet's latest invasion from Mars was over.

Scientists quickly pounced on the incoming ordnance, dubbed the Tissint meteorite after the type of rock it was made of. They wanted to know its chemistry and mineralogy—which proved it came from Mars—and they wanted to know one more important thing: whether it was carrying passengers. It's a question space scientists have begun asking a lot.

Life, as far as we can prove, exists only on Earth. There is our modest planet

Precious Cargo

New computer simulations show how prebiotic material or microbial life could have originated in a distant solar system then hitched a ride to Earth

1 Meteor collisions expel rock containing organic material from a planet's surface

2 After escaping the planet's gravitational pull, the rock drifts through its solar system

circling our modest star, and then there is the unimaginable hugeness beyond. Yet in that whole, great cosmic sweep, we're the only little koi pond in which anything is stirring. That, at least, has been the limit of our science. But that limit is changing fast.

The cosmos, as scientists now know, is awash in the stuff of biology. Water molecules drift everywhere in interstellar space. Hydrogen, carbon, methane, amino acids—the entire organic-chemistry set—swirl through star systems and dust planets and moons. In 2009, NASA's Stardust mission found the amino acid glycine in the comet Wild 2. In 2003, radio telescopes spotted glycine in regions of star formation within the Milky Way. And meteors that landed on Earth have been found to contain amino acids, nucleobases—which help form DNA and RNA—and even sugars.

That raises a tantalizing question: If the building blocks of life can rain down anywhere, why not life itself—at least in the form of bacteria? Such an improbable idea—dubbed panspermia—has been chattered about by scientists since the 19th century. But back then, there wasn't much knowledge of what the cosmic ingredients of life would be or how to detect them even if they could be identified. That's all changed. A welter of new studies in the past few years have shed light on the panspermia idea—and, in the process, have changed our very sense of our place in the cosmos. Never mind the old image of life on Earth existing in a sort of terrestrial bell jar, sealed off from the rest of the universe. Our planet—indeed all planets—may be more like a great meadow, open to whatever spores or seedlings blow by.

"I think there's definitely a role meteorites have to play in at least getting prebiological materials to planets," says Chris Herd, a meteorite expert at the University of Alberta, who has studied the Tissint rocks. "A lot has to go right for an actual microorganism to go from planet to planet. But in some cases, they just might survive the trip." If they made that trip to the ancient Earth, we may not merely have encountered aliens; we may be the aliens.

Martian Misfire

THE SEARCH FOR LIFE IN ROCKS FROM SPACE has not always been smooth. On Aug. 6, 1996, NASA stunned the world with a mid-day press conference announcing that a meteorite from Mars, prosaically known as ALH84001, contained evidence of what appeared to be fossilized bacteria.

LIFE ON MARS, the headlines screamed—including one in *TIME*—and that was exactly the conclusion the researchers had tentatively reached. "It's an unbelievable day," said then NASA administrator Daniel Goldin. "It took my breath away." President Clinton, campaigning for re-election, took a break to weigh in too. "If this discovery is confirmed," he said in a White House statement, "it will surely be one of the most stunning insights into our universe that science has ever uncovered."

Stunning, yes, but that confirmation never came. Further study of 84001 failed to rule out inorganic processes for the seemingly biological clues it contained, and while the rock continues to spark debate, no one disputes that the evidence was not the slam dunk it seemed to be.

In the years since, the research has proceeded apace, even if the press releases have been more measured, and the case for panspermia is being convincingly rebuilt. Last year, Herd and his co-authors published a paper in the journal *Science* showing not just how biological material could get to Earth but also how it could survive a long trip in space.

The study focused on what's known as the Tagish meteorite, after the frozen lake

in British Columbia on which it smashed itself to fragments on Jan. 18, 2000. Within days of the impact, scientists collected the debris—making no direct hand contact with it in order to prevent biological contamination—and put it in cold storage. When Herd and his colleagues got hold of four of the fragments and cracked them open, they found that the debris very much warranted such caretaking.

Distributed throughout the rock were not just the organics that had been seen before but also organics in different stages of sophistication, with simpler molecules giving way to complex ones and more complex ones still—a bit like finding caterpillars, cocoons and butterflies all in the same little nest. The rock, it seemed, had been acting as a sort of free-flying incubator, with traces of water trapped in its matrix combining with heat from radioactive elements to keep things warm and effectively pulsing.

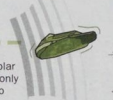
"These asteroids form in space, you dump in organic molecules, a little water ice and a little heat, and then they just start to stew," says Herd. That slow cooking went on for millions of years until the heat and water eventually were exhausted and the process shut down.


This doesn't have to mean that similar rocks landing on Earth billions of years ago were the start of all terrestrial life—or even that they contributed to biological processes already under way. And yet the organics in the Tagish meteorite have a curiously familiar feature. Amino acids come in one of two varieties: left-handed and right-handed, defined by an asymmetrical structure that points either one way or the other. All earthly life uses the left-handed kind—a puzzle since right-handed amino acids should work just as well—and the Tagish amino acids are left-handed too. Somehow, that southpaw bias got started on Earth. Herd's findings at least suggest that the influence could have come from beyond.

Cosmic Stowaways

IT'S EASY ENOUGH TO IMAGINE HOW A meteor that accreted in space and spent its life flying could eventually find its way

Meteors are an effective vehicle for cosmic tissue exchange, and amino acids are often found in space rocks

- 
- 3** Once at the edge of the solar system, the rock requires only a flutter in its trajectory to enter deep space

- 
- 4** Trace water and radioactive heat within the rock incubate its cargo during the long journey

into the gravity field of a planet if it came too close. Harder to figure is what it takes to get biologically contaminated material from the surface of one planet to another. Something, after all, has to launch the stuff in the first place. Typically that something is a meteor strike, which hurls debris into space, where it slowly drifts from one world to the next. Earth and Mars have exchanged material this way for billions of years, though more in the early days of the solar system, when the cosmic bombardment was greater.

The kind of life that can get started on the warm, wet surface of a planet, contaminate its rocks and hitch a ride to the world next door is a lot more complex than the mere prebiology that can get cooked up in space. Most of those organisms—probably the single-celled kind like those the ALH84001 scientists thought they found—couldn't live through the shock heating that occurs when debris is blasted into space, but the ones deep within the rock might. Surviving the hundreds of thousands or millions of years it would take to travel from world to world would not be impossible. Earthly bacteria that live in extreme environments may go dormant or even freeze-dry until conditions improve and they stir to life again.

In June, investigators from the University of Colorado at Boulder studied bacteria found in the Atacama region of South America, where rain almost never falls and temperatures go from 13°F (–11°C) at night to 133°F (56°C) the next day. Microbes nonetheless thrive there, sucking energy from traces of carbon monoxide in the air and extracting moisture from exceedingly rare snowfalls. The rest of the time they hibernate. There's no reason an adaptation that nifty should be confined to earthly life.


Whatever biology is flitting about out there would not even have to be limited to traveling from planet to planet; it could also hop from solar system to solar system. This idea, known as lithopanspermia, was long considered impossible. Not only would the transit times between


solar systems be prohibitively long for even the hardiest bacteria—on the order of 1.5 billion years—but the speed a space rock needs to travel to escape the gravity of its home solar system is too great for it to be captured by another. In September, however, a team of researchers from Princeton University, the University of Arizona and the Centro de Astrobiología in Spain figured out a neat solution that sidesteps these problems.

Most lithopanspermia models assumed that the only way a rock could escape a solar system was if it passed too close to a large body like Jupiter and was gravitationally ejected at a speed of about 18,000 m.p.h. (29,000 km/h). But the investigators in the recent study used a computer to model a slow-boat escape known as weak transfer, in which a rock gradually drifts out through a solar system until it's so far from its parent sun that the slightest flutter in its trajectory could tip it into interstellar space.

"At this point," says Princeton astrophysicist Edward Belbruno, one of the co-authors, "mere randomness determines whether it gets out or not." And never mind the extreme distances to the nearest solar systems. About 4.5 billion years ago, the infant sun was part of a tight grouping of nascent stars known as the local cluster. The herd dispersed after less than 300 million years, but a weak-transfer rock that escaped within that window could have reached the next solar system in about a million years. "Trillions of rocks could escape a solar system," says Belbruno. "Over the course of 300 million years, about 3 billion might have struck Earth."

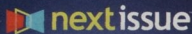
It's impossible to know if even one of those 3 billion would have harbored biological material, especially so early in the history of the local stars. But if the new studies say anything, it's that it's equally impossible to continue to see the Earth and its organisms as somehow separate from the rest of the cosmos. The building blocks of biology are everywhere; life, it seems increasingly likely, could be too. ■

- 
- 5** The star cluster in which our sun was born was once tightly grouped, reducing the rock's transit time as it is pulled into our solar system

- 
- 6** The rock and its cargo, attracted by Earth's gravity, plummet through the atmosphere. If the organic material survives the plunge, it finds a very hospitable new home

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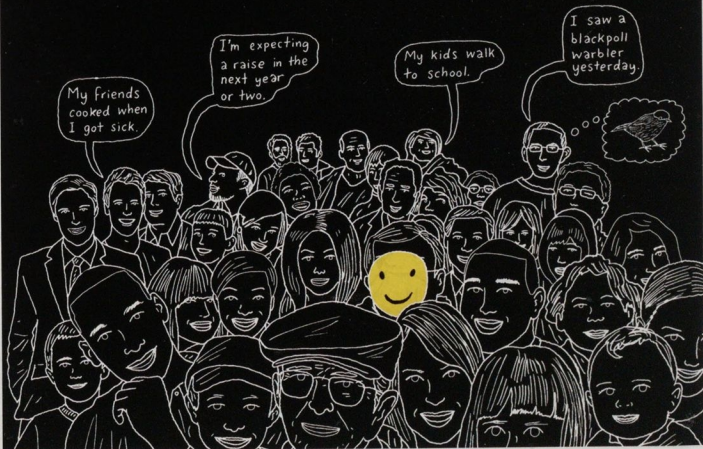
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THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

What makes us happy? Bhutan's bold attempt to quantify national well-being and achieve sustainable development has pushed economists in the West to find their own paths

BY JYOTI THOTTAM/THIMPHU



THE WHITEWASHED WALLS AND GILDED roofs of the Tashichho Dzong have withstood three centuries of fires, earthquakes and Himalayan winters. Inside this imposing fortress-monastery, in his elegant silk robe, Prime Minister Jigmi Thinley presides over the government of Bhutan, an idyllic Buddhist kingdom known for its gentle way of life. The fourth king coined the phrase *gross national happiness* (GNH) more than 30 years ago to suggest an enlightened Eastern alternative to the pressures of the materialistic West. Dare to call Bhutan "the happiest place on earth," however, and you are likely to provoke exasperated sighs from Thinley. He has made it his mission since taking office in 2008 to prove to the world that GNH is more than just a utopian dream. It has sometimes been a struggle. "Translating GNH in terms of your plans, policies and programs, that was lacking," he says. "That, particularly for me, was quite frustrating."

Bhutan has begun to use GNH as a broader and more nuanced measure of national progress than gross domestic product. Outside the monastery walls, Bhutan faces many of the same challenges as the rest of the world. The rural poor struggle to earn enough from farming, so they migrate to overburdened urban areas; middle-class families worry about young people graduating from college without job prospects. The elite, meanwhile, fret that their kids are spending too much

The Gross National Happiness Index represents the most comprehensive effort yet to devise an alternative to GDP

time on Facebook or with their iPads.

Bhutan is, in other words, experiencing the Easterlin Paradox, named for American economist Richard Easterlin, who first established that beyond a certain threshold, rising incomes don't bring happiness. His most recent research finds the same paradox in China. In the U.S., meanwhile, economic insecurity is affecting reported levels of happiness. The General Social Survey, the oldest effort to measure well-being in the U.S., found in 2010 "the lowest levels we've ever had," Easterlin says. "The picture is not encouraging."

Bhutan's audacious solution is to build its society from the ground up using what it calls the "four pillars" of GNH: sustainable economic development, conservation of the environment, preservation of culture and good governance. It may be hard to draw conclusions from a tiny, aid-dependent

country known as the Land of the Thunder Dragon, but in some ways, Bhutan is a perfect economic laboratory. Because it is a new democracy tiptoeing into the free market, its policymakers are free to try unorthodox ideas without being burdened by the legacy of how things were done before. Bhutan's happiness experiment has captured the fancy of economists and politicians from Brazil to Britain, Tokyo to Taiwan, who are looking for a new path to free-market prosperity—one that doesn't do so much damage to the environment, social equity and family life. "It's a very meaningful philosophy, not just for Bhutan but for other countries as well," says Claire Van der Vaeren, head of U.N. operations in Bhutan. "We think Bhutan is on to something very important."

Measuring Up

THE FIRST STEP IN MAKING GNH USEFUL IS to measure it. Bhutan's 2010 GNH survey was nearly seven years in the making, and its results were released earlier this year. Researchers translated the core ideas into nine equally weighted components of happiness. To measure them, they designed hundreds of survey questions, eventually interviewing 8,000 of Bhutan's 738,000 people in their homes to ask intensely personal, thought-provoking questions: "How many people can you count on for help in case you get sick? How often do you talk about spirituality with your kids? When did you last spend time socializing with

THE NINE COMPONENTS OF HAPPINESS

1. PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING



2. HEALTH



3. TIME USE





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your neighbors? How comfortable are you with your level of household debt?" Taken together, the answers form Bhutan's first baseline GNH index—0.743 on a scale that goes up to 1.

That score represents the most comprehensive effort yet to devise an alternative to GDP, but it is certainly not the only one. Since the 2008 global financial crisis, the calls to rethink GDP have grown more vehement. "The crisis was very helpful because people realized the GDP wasn't telling us anything about what was going on," says Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize-winning economist. "When Bhutan took up GNH, some people said it was because they wanted to take attention away from lack of development. I think quite the contrary. The crisis has made us aware of how bad our metrics were even in economics, because U.S. GDP looked good, and then we realized it was all a phantasm."

What's the alternative? Stiglitz has become the world's leading advocate for developing better measures of national well-being. He leads an influential commission funded by the French government to come up with better ways of measuring it. In response, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development put together the Your Better Life Index, a new Web tool that allows users to rank countries according to 11 measures of well-being. The tool recognizes that everyone has a different idea of what happiness looks like; you can weight the index accordingly and recalculate.

Bhutan is turning the principles of GNH into a tool to achieve the elusive ideal of sustainable economic development

If work-life balance and the environment are most important, Denmark and Sweden rank highest. Give more weight to income and health, and the U.S. and Switzerland top the chart. Stiglitz acknowledges that measures of well-being won't displace GDP but believes they will certainly supplement it. "I don't have any fear that it won't take hold," he says. "The question is the pace with which they are implemented."

The pace is picking up in Canada, where the province of Alberta and the city of Edmonton have supported the development of the Canadian Index of Wellbeing. It's similar to Bhutan's GNH Index, but instead of using survey questions, Canadian researchers created a composite of 64 existing statistics, including work hours and incidence of violent crime, that are considered proxies for various components of well-being. "We didn't ask Canadians how they feel," says Mark Anielski, who led the project.

Great Britain's Office for National Statistics added four questions about well-being to its largest ongoing household survey last year—including "How happy did you feel yesterday?" and "How satisfied are you with life nowadays?"—at a cost of \$3.2 million annually, about 1% of the agency's budget. The new questions were derided by critics as a frivolous expense in a time of austerity, but Prime Minister David Cameron, a longtime champion of happiness research, stood firm. "He took some political risks to support it," says Nic Marks, founder of the London-based New Economics Foundation's Centre for Well-Being. The new data will give Britain's policymakers a more complete picture of how the country's citizens are faring, Marks says. "Most people feel disconnected from the dominant economic indicators."

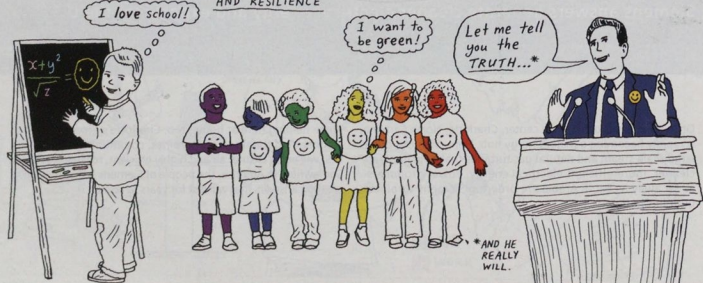
Screening for Happiness

ONCE COUNTRIES START MEASURING WELL-BEING, it isn't clear how they should use the data. In Edmonton, the new well-being index is intended simply as another data point to guide long-range strategic planning. At most, "we start to pay attention to inequality of well-being," Anielski says. In the U.K., the modest hope is that well-being measures will creep into the national debate about unemployment and income. "It will start to earn its keep, but that's a slight unknown," says Marks.

4. EDUCATION

5. CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND RESILIENCE

6. GOOD GOVERNANCE



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That's why in the U.S. well-being indicators have yet to take hold at the federal level. Steve Landefeld, director of the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, acknowledges that GDP's shortcomings are significant: it does not reflect growing inequality, and as the housing bubble showed so dramatically, it doesn't do much to warn about future economic trouble. "We think it's rather urgent" to fix those inadequacies, Landefeld says, but he doesn't see the need for a well-being indicator. The precursor to GDP was devised during the Great Depression to give the President a clear measure of economic health that would respond directly to government intervention. When interest rates fall or infrastructure spending rises, GDP moves in turn. Well-being indicators, as Bhutan's GNH experts admit, aren't very input sensitive and don't move much over time. For policymakers, Landefeld says, "I don't know how useful they are."

Bhutan's solution is to turn GNH principles into a policy-screening tool to achieve that elusive ideal of sustainable economic development. This effort is still in its infancy, but eventually every significant decision by Bhutan's government will go through a GNH filter—a set of questions that force policymakers to consider, for example, whether a new tax or public-works project will affect ecological diversity, decrease stress levels in the population or encourage physical exercise. Bhutan is doing a total review of

Economists and politicians are looking for a new path to prosperity that doesn't do so much damage to the environment

its mining policy using the GNH screening tool to come up with better bidding processes, regulations and revenue agreements that will minimize corruption and environmental damage. "Environmentally, it's quite a big challenge," says Sonam Tshering, Bhutan's economic-affairs secretary. "We have to be mindful of future generations. But we also realize that minerals are a resource that needs to be used for the country."

Thinking Local

POLITICIANS HAVE ALWAYS CITED IDEALS in shaping public policy. In today's extreme partisan battleground, though, it's hard to imagine U.S. lawmakers setting aside their differences to agree on a single set of principles for screening every big decision. At the state and local levels, however, this is already happening. Maryland has begun using a genuine progress indicator (GPI) to "measure

whether or not economic progress results in sustainable prosperity." Vermont's legislature passed a law to implement GPI in May, revitalizing a dormant effort to link the mission of Vermont's social-service agency—responsible for everything from public health to prisons—to quantifiable measures of well-being.

Lofty dreams have been recast in concrete terms. Instead of just "decreasing the lasting impacts of poverty on children," for example, the state has set a goal of reducing the reading-test-score gap between poor students and others by at least 10 points by 2015. To reach that target, Vermont's department for children and families will monitor enrollment rates in subsidized child care, prenatal care and other programs. Monica Hutt, director of policy and planning for Vermont's agency of human services, steers clear of words like *happiness*. "The word *happiness* really throws people off," she says. "It's about much more than that." Her aim is to "operationalize" happiness to make Vermont a safer, healthier place to live. "All of these things are connected to that happiness index that started in Bhutan."

When he first began sharing Bhutan's vision of sustainable development with the outside world, Thinley says, he did so only reluctantly. "We felt that the world was not ready," he says. The people of tranquil valleys and noisy cities all over the world are proving him wrong. —WITH REPORTING BY ROYA WOLVERSON/NEW YORK CITY ■

7. COMMUNITY VITALITY



8. ECOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AND RESILIENCE



9. LIVING STANDARDS



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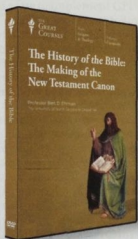
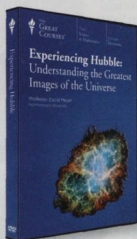
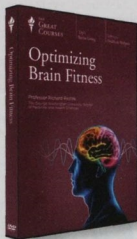


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The Culture

Apatow mixes fiction
with family for his latest
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60 ARCHITECTURE A “new” Frank Lloyd Wright house

Photograph by Emily Shur for TIME

Pop Chart



FUNNY-COUPLES EDITION

GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

David Cross and Amber Tamblyn

The *Arrested Development* star and *House* actress wed on Oct. 6

Rhea Perlman and Danny DeVito

Announced they are separating after 30 years of marriage

SCIENCE Tiny Dinos

The word *dinosaur* is from the Greek for "fearfully great lizard"—but that's not how we'd describe the newly identified species *Pegomastax africanus*. Fossils show that the (relatively) itty-bitty herbivore probably looked like a paleo-porcupine with a parrot's beak. How do you say "freaky" in Greek?



VERBATIM

'I think calling me full-figured is just rude.'

CHRISTINA HENDRICKS, responding to an Australian fashion editor's repeated questioning about being an inspiration to "full-figured" women. The *Mad Men* actress has said it's difficult to borrow designer dresses that fit her size-14 figure for award shows



TECH

At Your (Cell) Service

New York City has seen its fair share of food trucks. But cell-phone trucks? These vehicles don't sell iPhones; instead, they're like valet parking for gadgets. Students can't take smart phones to school, but now they can pay \$1 a day to store them nearby. It's a small price to pay for their teachers' sanity.



MOVING IMAGES The first survey of the work of Steve McQueen—not the star of *Bullitt* but the writer-director of 2011's *Shame*—will be on view at the Art Institute of Chicago from Oct. 21 to Jan. 6. The show comprises 15 works by the award-winning video artist, such as 2004's "Charlotte" (above) and 2012's "End Credits," making its world debut.



MOVIES

Hungry Games

After Hasbro announced that *Hungry Hungry Hippos* will be made into a movie, we polled our Twitter followers to ask which other childhood favorites should be adapted for the big screen. Here's what a few would gobble up.



Always imagined a **Pictionary** film in a Saw environment. Identify the drawing or it comes to life + eats you.
—@mstcambot



I always thought **Chutes and Ladders** would make a terrific horror flick. Break a dish, slide into a pit of zombies!
—@glory_anne



Operation. David Cronenberg directs this horror thriller about a man who surgically implants a pall into his knee.
—@mattsinger



Nicolas Cage is **Sorry!** The race for forgiveness begins this summer at a theater near you.
—@adamsorensen



Candyland. Who wouldn't like to see Tim Burton's rendition of *Candy Cane Forest* and *Queen Frostine*?
—@AndreaBuddy*

*This reader is in luck! *Candyland* is indeed becoming a movie



BEAUTY Scent-sitive

"Are you going somewhere? Where? Do you feel lucky? Why? What's the mystery?" These are the questions Brad Pitt whispers to an unidentified listener in three newly released Web video teasers for Chanel No. 5. The first male to shill for the perfume in its 91-year history, Pitt was reportedly paid \$7 million to play the macho-purring grand inquisitor.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. The commercial future of British folk. Believe this, Bieber: Mumford & Sons rang in the biggest record release of the year. Their second album, *Babel*, moved 600,000 copies in the U.S. during its first week.

2. Robert Plant's vocal cords. Led Zeppelin is definitively not reuniting. After a quartet of reunion concerts—the last in 2007, the DVD of which the band is now promoting—Plant says the three surviving 60-somethings are played out.

3. Hollywood letting a good story go unsatirized. Master of mockery Sacha Baron Cohen is developing a movie based on a Hong Kong billionaire who offered \$65 million to any man who marries his lesbian daughter.



GRAY MATTER Pablo Picasso may be famous for his Blue and Rose periods, but he also returned throughout his career to a more minimal palette. A new exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York City through Jan. 23, "Picasso Black and White," is the first museum show to focus solely on the Spanish artist's use of black, white and gray. The chronological overview of paintings, sculpture and works on paper shows a side of Picasso that's no less vibrant for being achromatic—as seen in this 1957 painting, *The Maids of Honor* (Las Meninas, after Velázquez).

QUICK TALK

Mary Elizabeth Winstead

After turns in horror movies like *Final Destination 3*, *The Thing* and *Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter*, established scream queen Winstead is generating Oscar talk as a teacher trying to get sober in the funny-sad new indie *Smashed*, co-starring *Breaking Bad*'s Aaron Paul. Winstead spoke to TIME about rebooting her image with what she says "is really a hopeful film." —MARY POLS

You play a very convincing drunk. How did you train? I didn't grow up around anyone who was an alcoholic, and I've never had any issues with alcohol. So I went to a lot of AA meetings. **They let you in?** I didn't go in proclaiming I was an actor and doing a film. I went in and said I'm here because I want to learn about being in AA. I always



went with either Susan [Burke, one of *Smashed*'s writers] or Elise [Salomon, a producer], who [are both] in recovery. **It's a juicy part. Did you have to fight for it?** When I got the script, I just flipped out. It was so complex and layered and human. I was considered more of a popcorn-flick actress, which is why I was actively pursuing a film like this and someone who would let me in the door. I did an audition tape, and I included every big scene in the movie. **Please explain your character's hideous wardrobe of sack dresses.** She needed to look a little off. From far away she kind of looks like a regular girl, but then when you get up close, you realize that there is something not right. She doesn't look in the mirror.

Working from Home

For Judd Apatow, filmmaking is a family business

By Joel Stein

JUDD APATOW DOESN'T SHOOT A MOVIE. HE shoots 100 movies, each of which exists in 100 parallel universes. There's a version of *Knocked Up* that's completely serious, a *Funny People* that's a total tearjerker, an NC-17-rated *The 40-Year-Old Virgin*. Which means that Apatow shoots a lot. Without stopping. He might say "Cut" less than any other director in history.

"Someone once told me that Michael Bay was trying to beat my record for most film shot for a movie, which is something like 2 million feet. But he failed," says Apatow, 44. It's September 2011, and he is shooting a scene of his fourth feature, *This Is 40*, at Hollywood's Cabana Club. In tan shorts, New Balance sneakers and an Andy Kaufman T-shirt, Apatow stands near the monitors at the side of the stage—where he'll be until 2:30 a.m., since he's decided to have 61-year-old British rock singer Graham Parker play four songs, even though he'll definitely use only one in the scene. "This is digital," Apatow explains. "It's free."

It's not as if he has a wife and kids to rush home to, since his wife and kids—actress Leslie Mann, 40, and their daughters Maude, 14, and Iris, 10—are on set nearly every day, performing for his camera. "The whole family gets along so much better when we're shooting a movie," he says. Today, the fingernails on one of his hands are painted silver—Iris' work. "Our kids spend so much time together. We're trying to figure out how to get them to

do this after the movie," he says. Unlike with the previous films the family made together, Maude and Iris might see this one, since Apatow is slowly giving up on his rule against letting them watch R-rated movies. Also the rule about cursing at home. "We're slowly becoming the Zappa family," he says.

This Is 40 (in theaters Dec. 21) seems pretty close to what it might feel like to live in Apatow's house. He's taken the supporting characters from *Knocked Up*—Debbie and Pete, the wealthy, bickering Brentwood couple played by Mann and Paul Rudd—and dissected their troubled marriage in a way that would make Edward Albee squirm. They've got money troubles (Pete is trying to launch a record label), parenting disagreements, secrets, fears of aging, and Cialis. If you want to know why rich people aren't happy, this movie will explain it to you.

Though Apatow says the story is a mixture of his own marriage, Rudd's marriage and lots of fiction, it's hard to remember that when his wife and kids are playing the wife and kids. The fights between his daughters are improvised copies of real fights they had at home. So is the scene in which Debbie serves the family undressed salad and tofu and tells them they're going to eat healthier and spend less time in front of their screens. "We didn't have a script for that scene. There's not a word in that scene [that Leslie] hasn't said at home," Apatow says.



The day Apatow turned 40, he visited Mann on the set of *17 Again*, where he watched her dance erotically for Zac Efron. This movie is less about feeling old and more about the mature, slightly sad realization that you can't change much about your life after you turn 40. "You realize you're in it for the long haul," Apatow says. "Even trying to do better makes it fall apart. I thought it would be fun to see a family completely break down. You get a vicarious thrill out of seeing other people collapse. It makes you feel O.K."

Apatow can make a movie this personal and specific—Pete's big drive in *This Is 40* is to revive Graham Parker's career—because he's made so much money for Universal on movies with relatively small budgets. His first feature, *The 40-Year-Old Virgin* (2005), grossed \$109 million in the U.S., and *Knocked Up* (2007) brought in \$149 million. He also produced last year's hit *Bridesmaids* (\$169 million). (The last film he directed before *This Is 40*, 2009's more serious-minded *Funny People*, brought in only \$52 million.) You'll rarely spot a studio executive on Apatow's sets, because his contract stipulates that he doesn't have to take studio notes.

Which is good, since he's so busy giving himself notes. His notes are usually some version of *This is funny, but it's never going to work in the movie; it's going to wind up on the DVD extras*. Because his films constantly evolve as he shoots them, he gives himself as many options as possible for where and how a scene can fit into the theatrical cut. He reshoots scenes in different locations, with different outfits—preferably bathrobes. "If they're in a bathrobe, I can use it anywhere. It could be anytime," he says. Uniforms mesh well with the Apatow method. "I have to do an army movie," he says.

The more options he creates, the later he can push the decision about what to include. His moviemaking technique is the exact opposite of the Coen brothers', who stick to the script and meticulously draw each camera shot on storyboards, like a graphic novel. "They're nervous about the chaos. I don't trust myself," Apatow says. "It's two sides of a neurotic Jewish coin."



A Family or a Cult

AS IT GETS CLOSER TO MIDNIGHT AND Graham Parker prepares to play at the Cabana Club, Apatow won't even commit to a joke. As soon as the actors deliver the lines in the script, he yells ideas, motivations, new lines, gestures and reactions. He often ends a hilarious scene and tells everyone to play it again for drama. He seems less like a director and more like some guy from a rival studio who walked in to purposely mess things up. Paula Pell, a *Saturday Night Live* writer who worked with Apatow on *Bridesmaids*, sits next to him in a director's chair, handing him yellow Post-it note after Post-it note with joke suggestions. As her wrap gift at the end of shooting, she's planning on giving him a photo of herself in a dress made of yellow Post-it notes.

He seems less like a director and more like a guy from a rival studio who walked in to mess things up

Icing capades From left, Iris Apatow, Maude Apatow, Paul Rudd and Leslie Mann in a scene from *This Is 40*

Most directors let actors keep improvising long after it stops being funny in order to shield the actors' egos, but Apatow cuts them off. "He does it in a more direct way than most directors," says Chris O'Dowd, who worked with him on *Bridesmaids* before *This Is 40*. "He's the most direct director I've ever worked with."

O'Dowd spent eight hours shooting a scene with Jason Segel and Megan Fox for *This Is 40* that wasn't in the script at all. Most actors need some breaking in on an Apatow movie, which is partly why he tends to work with the same actors over and over. O'Dowd, Melissa McCarthy (who plays an angry parent at the kids' school) and Annie Mumolo (who plays the wife of Pete's best friend) were all in *Bridesmaids* (which Mumolo co-wrote). Lena Dunham (whose character works at Pete's record label) is in the Apatow-produced HBO show *Girls*. Rudd, Mann and Segel have appeared in Apatow projects for nearly a decade; Segel was still a teenager when he was cast in Apatow's beloved but short-lived high school show *Freaky and Geeks*.

"You get sort of a family feeling," says O'Dowd. "Family is wrong. *Cult*. It's got more of a culty feeling." Dunham showed up five days before she started filming just to help punch up jokes. In that time, she told Rudd that in fourth grade she had a rich interior life in which he was her boyfriend and that in seventh grade she followed him through Urban Outfitters in New York City. Rudd, she says, pretended this was normal.

Albert Brooks, who plays Pete's dad, is new to the cult. When Pete asks his father what he thought of the Graham Parker show, Brooks improvises the line "Was he doing his own singing?" Apatow loves this and makes him try a dozen variations, until Brooks is asking Rudd if Parker lip-syncs like "Britney Simpson." Apatow has Brooks deadpan "The crowd seemed to like it" and "It's nice just being out." Brooks' brain is working incredibly fast, translating Apatow's suggestions into old-Jewish-man speak, but after five minutes Brooks finally asks Apatow to stop.

"I didn't really hear what his sets are like," Brooks says later. "I wasn't used to it. I told him, 'Let me empty my brain first. Don't yell anything until I'm done.' The worst thing on a movie is to think of something you should have said when you're driving home in the car. But it doesn't happen much here. He wrings it out of you." When Brooks directs, he improvises, but he doesn't ask the other actors to do it "because for the most part it doesn't work out very well," he says. "My conclusion is no one has ever made anyone cry in an improv. It goes to 'Hey you f—!' They never go to quiet soft emotions. It's never, 'Hey, my dad just died.'"

But Brooks is wrong. It turns out that if you improv enough, someone will cry, and that person will likely be your daughter. In one scene of *This Is 40*, Maude's character is supposed to curse out her parents and burst into tears. "I'm at the monitor, and she comes up to me," says Apatow. "She's crying about the fact that she can't cry. I tell her to walk out in front of the camera while she's crying, and she kills it. I felt bad. But it was like Daniel Day-Lewis. It was like seeing her find her voice, learning how to be an actress."

At 11 p.m., Rudd, exhausted, walks up

Director's Cut Judd Apatow picks his favorite deleted scenes



THE 40-YEAR-OLD VIRGIN

"We shot a scene where Steve Carell worries that having sex will change him... After he loses his virginity, he instantly becomes a drug kingpin and pimp. Because isn't that what usually happens?"



KNOCKED UP

"During the earthquake sequence, we showed Jonah Hill making love with a young lady while trying to convince her that the earthquake is not happening—it's just him and his prowess."



FUNNY PEOPLE

"I did a cameo as a bad director of a hot-dog-eating-competition movie. I cut myself out, then didn't notify myself and was very embarrassed at the premiere when I wasn't in the film."



THIS IS 40

"We had a scene where the kids got vaccinated, so I hired a real nurse and really gave them shots. Maude flipped out and cried, as she always does at the doctor. It got out, but the shots are working."

to the stage and does a few lines of stand-up to try to keep everyone awake, but he doesn't get much of a reaction. Mann lies down in the booth next to Apatow. "I'm hiding," she tells him.

"From who?"

"From everybody."

Mann has been there for 12 hours, in every scene, without delivering a single line—just reacting a lot to other people's improv. Now she's going to listen to four Graham Parker songs, over and over. Some of her improvising will involve pretending to fall asleep. But Apatow is jazzed, jumping up to fix the mike stand for Parker's bassist. Because as long as he's here, still shooting, he doesn't have to make any decisions.

A Visit to the Boneyard

TWO MONTHS LATER, APATOW IS IN THE editing room of the Apatow, his Brentwood office building. The walls are covered with blue index cards, neatly split into four sections. He's figured out where he wants to start and end in each section, but that still leaves a lot of choices. One wall, the "boneyard," has 20 cards, each representing a scene or shot that he's cut from the film, though he's not yet willing to remove them from the wall for good.

The subplot about Pete's struggling record label has mostly fallen out—including scenes with Green Day's Billie Joe Armstrong and E from the Eels—in favor of footage that focuses on Pete and Debbie's marriage. Right now, the movie starts with Pete leisurely waking up his kids for his wife's 40th birthday, singing "We Are the World" and farting near their faces. It's an entire home movie before any semblance of a plot kicks in. "I kind of like easing into things," Apatow says. "That has a cumulative effect, and suddenly it's a four-and-a-half-hour movie." Nearly all of this scene will eventually be cut.

He takes a break to walk the puppy his wife bought his daughters without telling him. When it turned out the girls wouldn't take care of it, she was about to take it back, but he wasn't going to let that happen. Apatow is not so good at letting go of things. So now he's got his own puppy.

That dog is going to be in a lot of movies.

Sports

Jock Police. Should colleges censor the posts and tweets of their athletes?

By Sean Gregory

A TWEET CAN COST A COLLEGE FOOTBALL team far more than a missed tackle or a dropped catch can. Back in 2010, University of North Carolina defensive tackle Marvin Austin posted about partying in a Miami Beach nightclub: "I live in club LIV so I get the tenant rate ... bottles comin like it's a giveaway." (He was quoting rapper Rick Ross.) The post piqued the interest of the National Collegiate Athletic Association; an investigation found that agents showered Austin with cash and boondoggle trips to Miami. Other Tar Heels, it turns out, also broke NCAA rules. In response, the NCAA banned UNC's football team from this year's postseason and cut its allotment of football scholarships for the next three years.

Colleges invest millions in their athletic programs and aren't about to let social-media slipups bring them down. Prompted by cases like North Carolina's, schools are keeping a closer eye on the Facebook and Twitter feeds of their athletes. Some are monitoring their every

digital move, and certain observers—including state governments—are wondering if the oversight goes too far. Universities have long wrestled with legal issues concerning how much control they should exert over their students. The rise of social media in the past decade has made keeping a leash on college jocks all the more contentious. The essential question is, What rights to privacy and free expression should student athletes expect?

The answer for now: not many. Some college teams ban athletes from sites like Twitter altogether. Others take a more nuanced approach, requesting an open door into students' digital rooms. Utah State University, for example, asks athletes to sign the school's social-networking policy, which states that the university "supports and encourages the individual's right of free speech" but prohibits "images that are revealing," any "display of alcohol or firearms" and "offensive or foul language." Athletes must "grant full permission for the university and other third-party monitors to gain access to the 'friends only,' 'private,' and similarly designated areas" of their social-networking pages.

The policy includes the following waiver: "To the extent that any federal, state, or local law prohibits the Athletic Department from accessing my social networking accounts, I hereby waive any and all such rights and protections." So as a de facto condition for playing sports at Utah State—a public institution of higher learning—you must grant the school license to ignore the law.

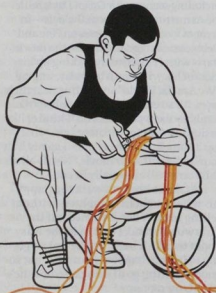
"There are all kinds of unconstitutional statutes and governmental actions going on here," says Phillip Closius, a constitutional-law expert at the University of Baltimore School of Law. "It's clearly suspect."

And it's sparking a demi-industry. A

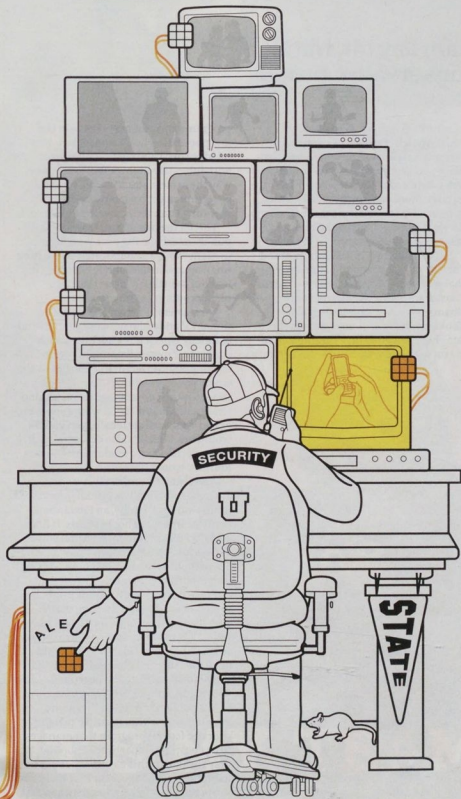
few companies snoop for hire: last year, UNC engaged Varsity Monitor to help thwart social-media misuse and now pays \$8,640 for software that flags suspicious activity. "We want to make sure athletes represent the institution in a positive manner," says Amy Herman, an associate athletic director for compliance at UNC. Varsity Monitor's client list includes the University of Texas football team and Villanova; it recently acquired a competitor, Centrix Social, which counted the University of South Carolina and Auburn among its users.

A rival monitoring company, UDiligence, has Ole Miss and Texas Tech among its 15 clients. Until recently, the UDiligence website featured embarrassing pictures of college athletes in various states of inebriation or provocation. "It's about trying to show mistakes that are out there," says Kevin Long, a former congressional press secretary and a founder of UDiligence. Long denied that the pictures exploited the athletes, but after his interview with TIME, the shots were removed from the UDiligence site.

UDiligence works as an app that a college athlete can install on his Facebook and Twitter pages, giving the company permission to access wall posts and other content that his friends and followers see. (The software does not scan direct messages.) The program flags a standard list of some 600 words—schools can add or subtract terms—in categories such as profanity, violence, alcohol, sex and texting acronyms. UDiligence defines each word and gives it a severity score of 1 (low) to 3 (high). All F-word variants get a 3. Both *assclown* and *assclown* are flagged and earn a 1, while *party* scores a 2. (Why is *party* worse than *assclown*? Because if a hoops player is tweeting about a party, he's more likely to do something dumb. If he's tweeting about an *assclown*, that means another kid is being dumb—in the case of *assclown*, perhaps a rich kid.) When these words pop up, the UDiligence program alerts athletes, coaches and administrators.



UNIVERSITY SURVEILLANCE



The idea is that having a monitoring program in place encourages closer self-monitoring: the student learns to flag a regrettable comment before hitting Tweet. Thus the schools are providing an educational service as well as protecting the athlete's job prospects. "When this was first introduced, I thought, Oh, do they want to be in my business?" says Brittany Broome, a senior softball player at Ole Miss and head of its Student-Athlete Advisory Committee. But Broome says she came to appreciate it: "Having that app, that kind of following, is always in the back of your head." She says no Ole Miss athlete has complained to her about UDiligence.

But even as it seeks to minimize exposure for schools and athletes, the e-babysitting of college students creates its own liability risks. What if the monitors miss a threatening tweet, and an athlete harms someone? "The more information you're collecting, the more responsibility you have," says Bradley Shear, an attorney specializing in social media and sports law. Potential lawsuits could cost public universities—and taxpayers—millions. "Doing blanket monitoring is nuts."

Some lawmakers agree. In September, California Governor Jerry Brown signed legislation that forbids colleges to "require or request" that a student or prospective student "divulge any personal social media information." The law also bans third-party apps like UDiligence from accessing students' private Facebook walls and Twitter accounts. In July, Delaware enacted a similar law. "If you monitor, will students feel free to express themselves?" asks Delaware Representative Darryl Scott, who sponsored the bill. "Facebook is the town square of our age. We're just trying, in some sense, to let kids be kids."

Many schools coach their athletes in social-media smarts. The athletic department at Pepperdine University doesn't monitor but does drill a basic lesson: any tweet can come back to haunt you. Alina Ching, a sophomore golfer at Pepperdine, is glad her school takes such a hands-off approach. "I would feel that my privacy is invaded and that I'm treated like I'm in middle school," Ching says. "We're all adults now. I can figure it out."

Tuned In

Big Bird Is a Republican. Lay off, Mitt. PBS should make a conservative proud

By James Poniewozik

I WASN'T SURPRISED THAT DURING THE Oct. 3 presidential debate in Denver, Mitt Romney pledged to defund the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). For Republicans, PBS threats are as reliable as Ken Burns reruns during pledge drives. But I was surprised by *how* he said it: "I like PBS. I love Big Bird.... [But] I'm not going to keep on spending money on things to borrow money from China to pay for."

That's right: Romney called Big Bird out, pulled his big yellow weave. Ordinarily it's PBS's defenders who bring up Big Bird—and Elmo, Arthur and Curious George—to emotionalize the debate, to make it about protecting your kids' favorite cuddly animals. PBS cutters usually want to talk about anything *but* Big Bird: liberal bias, waste, coastal elites taking your money to foist their values on you. *Sesame Street*, they argue, will be fine, because it makes more off licensing than the Count can calculate.

By citing Big Bird—as he has before on the stump—Romney put the argument on his opponents' favored terms. A Fired Big Bird Twitter account sprang up, and the Muppet himself responded to Romney on *Saturday Night Live*. At a rally, Barack Obama quipped that Romney would "get rid of regulations on Wall Street, but he's going to crack down on *Sesame Street*."

Maybe Romney was trying to give austerity an empathetic face. ("You can kill things and still like them," GOPer Rick Santorum helpfully explained.) But focusing the debate on the fate of one flightless avian muddies the real issue. No, Romney's cuts wouldn't kill Big Bird. But they would deeply hurt a program, public TV, that in fact exemplifies his party's values and serves his voters.

To understand why, you first have to look at how public broadcasting works—which is pretty much the opposite of how most people assume. A CNN poll in 2011 asked Americans what percentage of the federal budget the CPB gets; the median guess was 5% (\$173 billion) a year. In the 2013 budget, it actually gets

\$445 million—that's *million*, brought to you by the letter *m*—in a federal budget of nearly \$4 trillion. And where does that money go? Not, mostly, to PBS headquarters. Commercial TV is top-down: NBC collects the money and programs the series. In public TV, local stations make (and buy) the shows, set their own schedules and, by law, receive most of the public money.

So "defunding PBS" wouldn't defund PBS. It's stations in poorer rural areas that would be devastated, maybe killed. Coastal elites like the Romneys and Obamas will still have *Downton Abbey*; Cookie Monster will not want for chocolate chips. But good luck finding a channel on which to watch him—and literacy

Yes, Big Bird will survive whoever wins. But not everybody may still be able to watch him

programs and other services—in the low-population heartland regions that reliably turn GOP red every four years. As with interstate highways, it's one more way the same states that vote for small government get back more in federal spending than they contribute in taxes.

There's the irony in all this: lots of Republicans rely on Big Bird. And Big Bird is in many ways a Republican. That is, in its finances and ideals, public broadcasting is about as little-*c* conservative a government program as you can find.

For starters, it's frugal. We get a national TV and radio network for the kind of money Oprah has under her couch cushions. Progressives might prefer a lavish all-public program like the BBC—the single-payer plan of TV—but PBS uses its seed money to leverage corporate and charitable dollars. If PBS were a space program or a school system, conservatives would love that. It's also decentralized: major decisions are made locally, just as Romney would have with health care.

And for all the culture warriors against it, public TV is proudly, dorkily family-values-friendly, an Edwardian hemline in a sea of booty shorts. If liberals love PBS's pluralism, cultural conservatives love that their kids can watch free TV without being bombed with ads and inappropriate content.

Frankly, cutting PBS funds might be better for me personally. Here in rich, evil, liberal New York City, I'd still have public TV, now free from political pressure to be safe and bland. And I could keep the buck and change in taxes that I spend to offer PBS to the heartland. Screw you, South Dakota. You're on your own!

But public TV is for all the public, which is why it's amazing we're fighting over one federal program that manages to be cheap and bipartisanly popular. You may think that this election is about how to best serve "the 100%" or that it's about using money wisely in tough times. Either way, PBS is the definition of educational TV. ■





IT'S MY TEAM.

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Marlena Ortiz, New York Giants fan — breast cancer survivor, founder Beating Cancer in Heels

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Architecture



It appears Wright used the house to test ideas he was noodling with for the Guggenheim Museum



Wright Stuff. Can a house by a master dodge the dozer?

By Belinda Luscombe

BREAKING-NEWS ALERTS IN ARCHITECTURE are rare, but a bulletin that went out in August sent tremors around the design world: a house designed by Frank Lloyd Wright for his son David in Arizona was about to be torn down by developers.

Few U.S. architects are as revered as Wright; that one of his most personal works was in jeopardy came as a shock to many, including Phoenix residents. The landmarking process for the little-known 1952 structure had begun, but a demolition permit was issued in error. After an outcry—locals put the house under 24-hour watch—the developer and the city agreed at the 11th hour to stay the wrecking ball while a buyer is sought. The price starts at \$2.2 million.

The narrowly averted demolition has an upside: it unearthed an (almost) new building by an old master. Now let's hope it can dig up a new owner.

Wright had designed spiral structures before, but this was the only house. Its ramp and cantilevered curves reappear in the Guggenheim



Like Wright's museum, the house has rounded windows

Other classic Wright touches include the built-in furniture and the unadorned walls and floor that emphasize the purity of the building materials



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WHAT IS THIS LAWSUIT ABOUT? Plaintiffs claim that Bayer overcharged consumers for Bayer® Aspirin With Heart Advantage and Bayer® Women's Low-Dose Aspirin + Calcium ("Combination Aspirin Products") or that these products should not have been sold, because these products were not FDA-approved, could not provide all advertised health benefits and were inappropriate for long-term use. Bayer denies it did anything wrong. The Court has not decided who is right and who is wrong.

WHAT ARE THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT? Under the terms of the proposed settlement, each Settlement Class Member who submits a valid claim may be entitled to money. Bayer has agreed to make payments totaling \$15,000,000 to settle Plaintiffs' claims, including attorneys' fees and costs. For more details, write to the address or visit the website identified below.

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Stay In: you will be legally bound by the terms of the settlement, and you won't be able to sue Bayer—as part of any other lawsuit—for any claims arising from or related to the marketing or advertising of the Combination Aspirin Products except for any personal injury claims. **To receive benefits from the settlement, you must submit a valid, sworn Claim Form.** The Claim Form must be postmarked, faxed, or submitted online by April 29, 2013. Any member of any Settlement Class that does not timely submit a valid, sworn Claim Form will not be entitled to settlement benefits.

To file a Claim Form, visit www.BayerCombinationAspirinSettlement.com.

Get Out: If you get out, you will not receive benefits from the proposed settlement, but you will keep rights to sue Bayer for these claims, and will not be bound by the terms of the settlement. To be excluded from the Settlement Class, you must act before December 20, 2012. If you wish to be excluded from one or more of the Settlement Classes visit www.BayerCombinationAspirinSettlement.com.

Object: If you stay in any Settlement Class, you can object to the Settlement and must act by February 5, 2013. **WHO REPRESENTS ME?** The Court has appointed Hagens Berman Sobol Shapiro LLP and Douglas & London P.C. to represent the Settlement Classes. You may hire your own attorney, if you wish, at your own expense.

THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT: The Court will hold a Fairness Hearing on Wednesday, March 13, 2013 at 10 a.m. Eastern, to determine whether the proposed settlement is fair, reasonable, and adequate and to approve attorney fees and costs. The Hearing will be at the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York, 225 Cadman Plaza East, Brooklyn, New York 11201. If you are a member of a Settlement Class who did not seek to be excluded, you may write to the Court to object to the proposed settlement, and you may ask to speak at the hearing about the fairness of the proposed settlement.

HOW CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION? If you have questions, visit the website below, call 1-877-257-5766, or write to Bayer Combination Aspirin Litigation Settlement, c/o Gilardi & Co. LLC, P.O. Box 808061, Petaluma, CA 94975-8061.

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BlackRock Fund Advisors, 400 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94105-2228 (July 20, 2012)*; Capital Research Global Investors (U.S.), 333 S. Hope St., 55th Fl., Los Angeles, CA 90071-1447 (July 13, 2012)*; Capital World Investors (U.S.), 333 S. Hope St., 34th Fl., Los Angeles, CA 90071-1406 (July 13, 2012)*; CEDE & Co., P.O. Box 20, Bowling Green State, New York, NY 10274 (June 30, 2012)*; Dimensional Fund Advisors, L.P. (U.S.), 1299 Ocean Ave., 11th Fl., Santa Monica, CA 90401 (June 15, 2012)*; Dodge & Cox, 555 California St., 40th Fl., San Francisco, CA 94104 (July 13, 2012)*; Fidelity Management & Research Company, 245 Summer St., 14th Fl., Boston, MA 02210 (July 20, 2012)*; Harris Associates, L.P., Two N. LaSalle St., #500, Chicago, IL 60602-0600 (May 30, 2012)*; Institutional Capital, LLC, 225 W. Wacker Dr., #2400, Chicago, IL 60606-6304 (July 13, 2012)*; Invesco Advisers, Inc., Two Peachtree Pointe, 1555 Peachtree St., N.E., Atlanta, GA 30309 (June 8, 2012)*; J.P. Morgan Investment Management, Inc., 270 Park Ave., 8th Fl., New York, NY 10017 (July 20, 2012)*; Liberty Media, LLC, 12300 Liberty Blvd., Englewood, CO 80112 (June 30, 2012)*; Longview Partners, LLP, Thames Cl., 4th Fl., One Queenhithe, London, EC4V 3RL, U.K. (July 1, 2012)*; Manning & Napier Advisors, Inc., 290 Woodcliff Drive, Fairport, NY 14450 (July 13, 2012)*; State Street Global Advisors (SSGA), One Lincoln St., 27th Fl., Boston, MA 02111-2900 (July 13, 2012)*; T. Rowe Price Associates, Inc., 100 E. Pratt St., Baltimore, MD 21202-1008 (July 20, 2012)*; The Vanguard Group, Inc., 100 Vanguard Blvd., Malvern, PA 19355 (July 20, 2012)*; Wellington Management Company, LLP, 280 Congress St., 31st Fl., Boston, MA 02210 (May 30, 2012)*

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12. Not Applicable
13. Publication Title: TIME MAGAZINE
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 - iv. Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS: 0
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17. Signature and Date: Elissa Fishman, SVP Vice President, Finance, 9/10/12

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Joel Stein



Meet the Green Party's Meal Ticket

If the Democrats can raffle off dinner with Beyoncé, what price lunch with Stein?

LAST MONTH, I GOT AN E-MAIL FROM Beyoncé Knowles titled "I don't usually email you," which I erased immediately since it seemed like the kind of thing my lovely wife Cassandra could see and then we'd be in a fight where I'd be yelling "I've never even met Beyoncé!" with an unconvincing smirk on my face because, no matter how much friction it would cause in our marriage, I couldn't help wanting someone to think I'm sleeping with Beyoncé.

Beyoncé—who, again, I've never so much as drunkenly made out with at a nightclub—was letting me know that if I donated \$5 or more to Barack Obama, I'd enter a raffle for a flight, hotel and night partying with her, Jay-Z and the President.

It makes sense that Americans would pay to meet celebrities at an event that the President also happened to be at and where the money happened to be used to help decide the leader of the free world. That event raised \$6 million; a dinner with Sarah Jessica Parker got Obama \$2 million; a lottery for a dinner at George Clooney's pulled in \$9 million; dinner with Michael Jordan netted \$3 million; Mitt Romney's appearances with the Donald (Trump) raked in \$2 million. Which made me realize that auctioning yourself off for a candidate is a great way to get the kind of free publicity that makes people think you're really influential.

So I called Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate, and told her campaign they could raffle off lunch with me. I chose Stein partly because I figured the two main parties wouldn't call me back and mostly because I thought the raffle might cause people to confuse our names and think I'm the Green Party presidential candidate, which would boost my Hollywood career.

The Green Party sent an e-mail to 2,300 local supporters. I addressed it "Dear Person Who Cares Deeply About Others" and promised a lunch for the winner and a guest at the most expensive restaurant they could find, knowing that even the most expensive kale salad isn't that expensive. I promised "to listen to you ranting on and on about the corrupt American political system without interrupting you." Forty-five people donated, adding nearly \$2,000 to the \$515,000 Stein had raised, which, percentage-wise, makes me a better celebrity draw than Sarah Jessica Parker. When I asked Stein who Green Party loyalists would have been most excited about—figuring she'd say Al Gore or Ed Begley Jr.—she said, "Gisele Bündchen." That is likely because Bündchen has a line of flip-flops to raise money for the rain forest, has planted more than 50,000 trees in Brazil and has fantastic breasts.

Stein, a Harvard-educated doctor who has had a tough time running as a Green

candidate for other offices, said she was enjoying this race, which she entered Dick Cheney-style after being on the party's search committee. "We're going to win this race," she told me. "We're either going to win it by winning the office or win it by winning the day." I did not know exactly what that meant, but I was proud to be part of it.

Since the Obama winners weren't selected entirely by chance (the campaign chose from 50 randomly drawn names), the Green Party likewise hand-picked Harrison Wills, the president of the student body at Santa Monica College in California, who had donated \$5. To pay for school, Wills started Naturally Harrison, which sells locally made organic mattresses. Wills' lunch choice was Thai Vegan, where the menu tops out at \$7. The Beyoncé fundraiser for Obama featured a 350-bottle tower of Armand de Brignac at \$300 a pop. Net-worth-percentage-wise, I was paying more for my fundraiser than Beyoncé.

Wills, 27, had no idea who I was. "But I can't tell you how important I think investigative journalism is," he said. A bit later he asked, "Do you do investigative journalism?" I don't think Wills got his five bucks' worth despite being \$2 up on the pad thai.

We had a great conversation while eating vegan food on a picnic table overlooking the Pacific Ocean. I learned a lot about some really good educational and electoral reforms in Finland. Wills was incredibly charismatic, using my name a lot and pounding his fists as he got excited about improving our country, our planet and humanity. "I'm not just going to throw bricks. I'm going to build community gardens," he said. This was a man who cared so deeply, he truly believed those were his only two options.

I left our meeting hopeful, energized about the democratic process and full without any kind of heavy, bloated feeling. And, most important, I got the student-body president of Santa Monica College to read one of my columns. ■



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10 Questions

Cruz's trademark touchdown salsa has led to offers—which he has declined—to appear on *Dancing with the Stars*



NFL star **Victor Cruz** talks about head injuries, surviving New Jersey and the sport he really wants to play

People think you've had a meteoric career—an undrafted free agent after college in 2010 and now the New York Giants' star wide receiver. But your book *Out of the Blue* suggests you had it tough. Why?

Every step, whether at high school or at college or at the NFL, I had to climb and crawl and scratch to get there. But also I did things that set me back. My coaches used to tell me, "Man, you're making this thing so hard on yourself. You're really giving yourself more obstacles to climb to get to where you want to go."

One of your big setbacks was the SAT. How many times did you take it?

Maybe five or six. That was just a dreadful, dreadful test for me, even though passing meant so much. I had to pass to play football in college and keep achieving my dreams.

If someone nowadays says, "I need an analogy," how do you react?

Not me! Not me! You're going to have to find someone else or give me 30 minutes.

You grew up in a tough part of New Jersey with a lot of

talented kids. Many fell by the wayside. Why not you?

My mom was someone who didn't take no for an answer, who always told me, "Once you start something, make sure you finish it." I think that's what kept me on the straight and narrow, on top of her just being a Puerto Rican mom, strict to the bone.

How much of your success do you attribute to living with your mom and grandparents above a taekwondo studio?

If I had lived two blocks away, I probably never would have heard of the studio and never would have got into karate school and never met [my instructor], who everyone had to call The Sir. God knows what would have happened then.

Your father got liver cancer, his health insurance ran out, and then he committed suicide.

What did you take away from his passing? No matter what the disease, what you feel like the person's facing, how close they are to you, just spend time. No matter whether they're at a point where you can't really help them, try to still be there. I wasn't talking to my dad at the time. And I feel like that was part of the reason he was feeling so down and part of the reason he took his life. Nobody was talking to him when he needed to talk. If I'd just talked to him for 20 minutes, it

probably would have changed something.

What are your thoughts on head injuries in the NFL?

I definitely think it needs to be looked at seriously. It's obviously hard to manage because of the high volume of hits in the NFL. But it's something they're working on. Taking away certain hits to the head by the defensive players on the offensive players is a great step. I think that will help get guys acclimated to hitting in different areas. I think it starts [in youth leagues] and goes all the way up.

You're Catholic, and you have a kid with your girlfriend, who is also your manager. Why haven't you married her yet?

I just want the timing to be right. And I feel like we're almost there, but once I wake up that one morning and I look over at her and I get that "go buy a ring" feeling, that's when it'll happen.

You're pretty good at football, basketball and taekwondo. Any other sport you admire?

Soccer. I have tremendous respect for guys who use only their feet and are so quick laterally and have phenomenal decisionmaking and can curve the ball the way they do. They're going full speed, and they know exactly where to hit the ball to make it spin a certain way or pass it to a teammate.

Would you go so far as to play? I've been trying. It's not as easy as it looks on TV.


—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

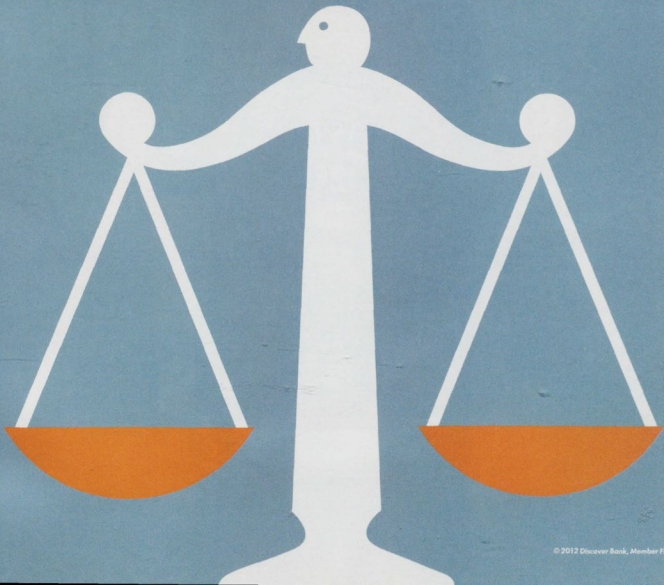
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